The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Palestine – Pawn of Empire

An Editorial

Is Conscription Democratic?

By Harold E. Fey

A Liberal Bandaged but Unbowed

By Robert L. Calhoun

What I Missed at Madras

By E. Stanley Jones

Moral Rearmament

An Editorial

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In This Issue

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is executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and was formerly editor of *World Call*, missionary monthly of the Disciples of Christ.

ROBERT L. CALHOUN

is professor of historical theology in the divinity school of Yale University. A native of Minnesota, Dr. Calhoun was educated at Carleton College, received his doctorate at Yale and pursued further studies at Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1934 he delivered the Nathaniel W. Taylor lectures at Yale and in 1935 the Merrick lectures at Ohio Wesleyan. His most recent book is *God and the Common Life*. Dr. Calhoun, although a member of the younger group of theologians, which includes Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich and John Bennett, has arrived at positions which, as his article makes clear, differ markedly from those held by his contemporary Christian thinkers. It is for that reason that The Christian Century counts itself fortunate to be able to include Dr. Calhoun's article in its "testimony meeting" on changes in Christian thinking.

E. STANLEY JONES

is the internationally known missionary in India. Dr. Jones writes in reply to an article by Dr. Henry Pitt Van Dusen which appeared in The Christian Century for March 29.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON

is pastor of the First Baptist Church of Waco, Texas, and a staff correspondent for The Christian Century.

Coming

Next in the series on "How My Mind Has Changed in This Decade" will be Dr. Albert W. Palmer, president of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

May 31, 1939

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Contents

Editorial
- Editorial Paragraphs 691
- Palestine—Pawn of Empire 694
- Moral Rearmament 696

Quintus Quiz: The Anonymous Architect 697

Contributed Articles
- Is Conscription Democratic? by Harold E. Fey 698
- A Liberal Bandaged but Unbowed, by Robert L. Calhoun 701
- What I Missed at Madras, by E. Stanley Jones 704

Books
- Portrait of New York, by Felix Riesenberg and Alexander Alland 708
- New York, An American City, 1783-1803, by Sidney I. Pomerantz 708
- Books in Brief 708
- Books Received 709

Correspondence 709

News of the Christian World
- Correspondence from Syracuse 711
- Correspondence from Denver 711
- Correspondence from Japan 712
- Correspondence from New York 713
- Correspondence from Detroit 714
- Correspondence from New England 715
- Southern Baptist Convention 716
- Correspondence from England 718

The New Films 719

Calendar of Coming Events

May 25-31. Presbyterian General Assembly, Cleveland, O.
May 29-June 1. Minnesota Disciples Conference, Tipi-Wakan, Spring Park.
May 29-June 3. Y. M. C. A. Secretaries' Association, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, Canada.
May 30, 31. Wisconsin Baptist Convention, Madison.
May 31. Northwest Canada Annual Evangelical Conference, Regina, Sask.
May 30-June 2. Third Biennial Institute. A Movement for World Christianity, Union Theological Seminary, New York City.
May 31, June 1. Rural Church Conference, Lisle, N. Y.
May 31-June 2. Vermont Baptist Convention, Barre.
May 31-June 5. African Methodist Episcopal Zion Philadelphia and Baltimore Conference, Wesley Church, Philadelphia.
June 1. California Annual Evangelical Conference, Sacramento.
June 1-5. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Camp Washun-ga, Kan.
June 2-4. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Birmingham, Ala.
June 2-5. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Silver Springs, La.
June 5-9. Iowa Disciples Conference, Davenport.
June 6-8. West Virginia Disciples Conference, Bethany.
June 8-13. General Synod, Reformed Church, New York City.
June 9-16 Annual Meeting, Methodist Foreign Mission Conference, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
June 10-13. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Ardulussa, S. C.
June 11. Utah Disciples Conference, Salt Lake City.
June 11-14. Nebraska Disciples Conference, Fairbury.
June 11-14. Ohio Universalist Convention, Norwalk.
June 11-18. Nebraska United Older Youth Conference, Milford.
June 12, 13. Potomac Synod, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Hood College, Frederick, Md.
June 12-13. Colorado Disciples Conference, Ft. Collins.
June 12-23. Kansas Institute of International Relations, Bethel College, North Newton.
June 12-23. Oklahoma Institute of International Relations, University of Oklahoma, Norman.
June 13-15. Montana Disciples Convention, Billings.
June 13-24. Grinnell Institute of International Relations, Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
June 16-18. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Medicine Lake, Minn.
June 16-18. South Dakota Disciples Convention, Sioux Falls.
June 18-28. Pacific Northwest Institute of International Relations, Reed College, Portland, Ore.
June 19-22. South Idaho Disciples Convention, Twin Falls.
June 19-23. Nebraska Christian Rural Fellowship Institute, Lincoln.
June 19-23. Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania, Chambersburg, Pa.
June 19-30. Interdenominational Conference on the task of the church in community building, Blue Ridge, N. C.
June 20-23. Youth's Temperance Council Encampment, Clarkston, Wash.
June 20-25. Northern Baptist Convention, Los Angles, Cal.
June 20-30. Mills Institute of International Relations, Mills College, Oakland, Cal.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LVI CHICAGO, MAY 31, 1939 NUMBER 22

EDITORIAL

HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY, was all set to be the scene for another bloody mine war last week. But there has been no bloodshed up to the present, and the signs now indicate that there will be none. All but one of the large Harlan mining companies have now signed the contract which John L. Lewis recently negotiated on behalf of the United Mine Workers, and negotiations under way hold out promise that the lone recalcitrant will sign before long. The encouraging thing about the flare-up in the Kentucky mining regions has been the refusal of the American public to be stampeded into a snap judgment on the rights and wrongs of the situation. When Governor Chandler sent in the national guard, alleging that the unions were resorting to terrorism and that troops were needed to safeguard the right of men to work, the general public, both in Kentucky and elsewhere, looked on the maneuver with a cold and fishy eye. Reports by sheriffs and their deputies that they had secret information regarding the approach of hordes of armed radicals from outside the state who must be repulsed by swearing in more mine guards, were greeted with incredulity. Attorney General Murphy's move in sending department of justice investigators to make sure that civil liberties were preserved was generally approved. Even the press, with a few deplorable exceptions, did not report the affair in a manner calculated to make trouble. This public reaction has undoubtedly done much to keep the situation within bounds. It indicates, too, that when it comes to appraising labor troubles the American public is growing up.

A Sign of Social Maturity

Replies to Hitler's Invitation

HERR HITLER now has replies from most of the nations which he sounded out concerning mutual non-aggression pacts. Esthonia, Latvia and Denmark have told him that they would be interested in negotiating such pacts. Sweden, Norway and Finland have said that they do not desire to do so. The nazis are reported to believe that Hitler's strategy in thus following up the lead supplied by President Roosevelt's telegram has yielded excellent results. The answers from Esthonia, Latvia and Denmark are taken to show that Germany's nearest and smallest neighbors believe that they can trust the word of the reich. And those from Sweden, Norway and Finland are interpreted as an indication that the senders are not afraid of nazi ambitions. Since the nazis seldom seem to be satisfied these days, it is pleasant to find them feeling this way as one result—a by-product, so to speak—of the American intervention. For those of us at this distance, however, perhaps the most significance in the whole affair is to be found in the apparent belief of the Scandinavian countries that the best way to preserve their neutrality is to keep out of all pacts. The preservation of Scandinavian neutrality was one of the miracles of the last war, and one which Americans might study with great profit. This Scandinavian determination not to get tied up in any advance undertakings as a means of keeping out of the next war has equal meaning.

What Effect Will the Axis Alliance Have?

IT WILL NOT DO to dismiss as unimportant the military alliance between Germany and Italy signed in Rome on May 22. The provisions openly announced show that it is far more than a military footnote to the previous political agreement which formed the Berlin-Rome axis. It is a hard and fast pledge that when either power becomes involved in war for any reason, the other will automatically come to its aid and that neither power will make peace without the consent of the other. Add to this the secret clauses which Virginio Gayda, Mussolini's journalistic mouthpiece, says include a partitioning of Europe and Africa into German and Italian spheres, and the importance of the new treaty must be clear. If this new pact does nothing else, it at least puts an end to hopes of alienating Mussolini from the axis. It would have been impossible for Italy to have formulated language which would have put her forces more unequivocally at the disposal of Hitler. If a government's plighted word means anything any more, this alliance ends all

speculation as to Mussolini's intentions. Such a development should have an immediate effect on British policy. Specifically, it should end Mr. Chamberlain's backing and filling with regard to a Russian alliance. As Mr. Lloyd George was unmannerly enough to remind Parliament, there never has been any way by which Great Britain and France could make good on their pledges of protection for Poland and Rumania without enlisting the help of Soviet Russia. Nevertheless, Mr. Chamberlain has refused to insure that help on the only terms acceptable to the Russians. His reason has been generally understood to be his belief that conclusion of a formal alliance with Russia would put a final end to his hopes of weaning Mussolini away from Hitler. Now that Mussolini himself has put an end to such hopes, Britain may be expected to push forward as rapidly as possible to a Russian understanding. Exactly what Stalin's terms are for such an agreement is not known, but it is rumored that they include a complete military alliance with England and France, together with guarantees of mutual action in case of an axis attack on any European state. They may possibly also include a demand for assistance in the Far East. Before jumping to the conclusion, therefore, that a triangular alliance including Russia is as good as signed, it should be remembered that Stalin now absolutely controls the negotiations. If the alliance is formed it will be on his terms. And when Mr. Chamberlain thinks of the pledges he has given Poland and Rumania, the necessity of meeting Stalin's terms must look anything but appetizing.

Southern Baptists Firm for Church Freedom

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS frequently seem to their fellow Protestants more than overly fearful of church union. But there is one issue on which they can be counted on to be everlastingly right, and that is the issue of religious liberty and the separation of church and state. Both these denominational characteristics were strikingly displayed in the recent Southern Baptist Convention at Oklahoma City. The Baptist witness on religious liberty came before the convention in a resolution drawn up by its committee on public relations, which includes three United States senators—Bailey of North Carolina, George of Georgia, and Logan of Kentucky. "We oppose," said the resolution, "the establishing of diplomatic relations with any ecclesiastical body, the recognition in the Congress of any ecclesiastical potentate, the extension of special courtesies by our government to any ecclesiastical official as such, and the employment of any branches of our national defense in connection with the religious services that are held to honor any ecclesiastical leader." Readers of The Christian Century scarcely need to be told what specific incidents must have inspired this series of protests. "American Baptists," the resolution continued, "hold that the coercion of religious bodies through special taxes, the use of tax-raised funds for sectarian schools and the appropriation of public money to institutions created to extend the power and influence of any religious body, violates the spirit of the first amendment [to the Constitution] and results in union of church and state." The Southern Baptists pledged themselves to work for "absolute religious liberty" for Jews, Catholics and all kinds of Protestants. To those "living under governments that deny them the fullest religious freedom" they declared that the Baptist crusade will not "desist . . . until the inalienable right of religious liberty becomes the possession of all." The same resolution adopted at Oklahoma City will be sent to the Northern Baptist Convention at Los Angeles next month for endorsement.

No Wonder the Book Was Suppressed!

IT IS NOT OFTEN that the *New Yorker* wanders into the field of international affairs, but when it does it has a way of turning up some remarkably interesting material. That was certainly the case when, in its issue for May 20, it quoted from *Propaganda in the Next War*, by Sidney Rogerson, a book recently published and as quickly suppressed in England. Here are a few of the gems which the *New Yorker* has culled from Mr. Rogerson: "The American is the champion of the oppressed—and frequently of the soi-disant oppressed . . . [they] are still under the influence of much of the Great War propaganda. They are more susceptible than most people to mass suggestion . . . and since 1918 they have shut themselves off from reality." Since this is what Americans are like it is no trick at all to outline a plan to bring them into the next war. "Our main plank will be the old democratic one." (The *New Yorker* wonders whether, instead of "one," Mr. Rogerson did not really mean to write "hooey.") "We shall, as before, send over our leading literary lights . . . to put our point of view over the dinner table. . . . We should exploit the views and experiences of American nationals who might be serving in our forces or those of our allies. We should make much of them, decorate them, single them out for mention in dispatches. [We should] see that American newspaper correspondents are given every facility for observing and reporting and that their messages should be censored sympathetically. Similarly with their newsreel men. They should be the first to be allowed to 'shoot' pictures of air raids, in order that a proper volume of pictorial 'horror' will be available in one of the few great countries where 'atrocity propaganda' will still be operative." Mr. Rogerson is also credited with thinking that "the position naturally will be considerably eased" if the Japanese can be inveigled into the war on the anti-British side, since "this might and probably would bring America in without further ado." It might not be a bad idea to file this paragraph away for future reference.

Mothers' Day in Hitler's Reich

IT WOULD be impossible to achieve a new nadir of blasphemy in nazidom, but the bottom was struck again in the celebration of mothers' day in that realm. As part of his campaign to increase the supply of cannon fodder in order that Germany's claim for more room for her overcrowded population might be pressed more effectively, the führer had authorized the distribution of a

million medals for women "rich in children." There were gold crosses for mothers of eight or more, silver crosses for those with six or seven children, and bronze crosses for those with "only" four or five. The minister of interior, Dr. Wilhelm Frick, delivering the oration for the occasion, observed that not many years back babies were "unfashionable" in the reich. "What a change since 1933!" he declaimed. "Our führer took an iron broom to sweep out those anti-social ideas. He taught us that the future does not depend on the material success of the individual, who passes away, but on a wealth of healthy children." The sub-zero point was reached when the leader of the nazi women declared over the radio in the name of all German mothers: "We bring the fruits of our motherhood to the führer and say to him: 'It is the best that we have, therefore it belongs to you.'" The observation that all this signifies that the nazi state has become the church, with Hitler as its Christ, does not quite bring out the full meaning of nazism. Not only does it assume the form of religion and make the claims of religion upon its citizens; it actually gives to its citizens an experience of the values of religion. This is best indicated by Frick's speech, which happens to be more than half true. When wives and husbands refrain from having children on grounds of personal inconvenience, they are cherishing an anti-social individualism which has been all too characteristic of bourgeois culture. In sweeping this away, nazism achieves a positive moral value which anti-fascists generally fail to appreciate, and in such achievements lies its profoundly based strength. Nazism really supplies a meaning for life—until its worship of the state almighty leads to the great holocaust that destroys life.

Mr. Roosevelt Has Good Neighbor Trouble

OF ALL the teapot tempests in recent American politics, the one stirred up by the navy's purchase of 48,000 pounds of Argentine canned corned beef is the most absurd. All the breast-beating in Congress, together with all the yowling of the press in the cattle-raising states, cannot hide the fact that all Mr. Roosevelt has done is to approve a purchase that was (1) good business; (2) good diplomacy; and (3) that didn't cost the American cattle-raiser a cent. It is admitted that the United States does not can much corned beef. (At the height of the uproar the Senate was told that all the canned corned beef served in its own restaurant comes from Brazil, and a roving reporter went into dozens of grocery stores in a packing center like Omaha before he could find one that carried the American product.) It is further admitted that the quality of South American canned corned beef is superior to that produced in this country, since the packers in South America—American firms like Armour and Wilson and Swift, operating in the southern continent—use better cuts which, in the United States, are sold as fresh meat. And it is admitted that the navy is getting this canned corned beef for 16 cents a pound, while the lowest bid for corned beef canned in the United States was 24 cents a pound. But these admissions have not stopped the uproar. Another aspect of the matter which has gone almost unnoticed is its relation to the good neighbor policy. We have been ding-donging it into South American ears that being good neighbors involves doing business with each other. That hasn't been so difficult for the Brazilians, who found us eager for their coffee. But it has been hard for the Argentines, who found no market in the United States for their wheat and beef. In buying a small order of canned corned beef for the navy Mr. Roosevelt found a way of making a friendly gesture to Argentina. The purchase of 48,000 pounds of canned beef would not affect the price of steers in the American market a fraction of a cent a pound, but it would make Argentina believe that we really wanted to do business with her if we could only find a way to do so. Nevertheless, the anguish of the cattlemen continues to rend the air, and Congress has voted that it must never, never happen again. We are a great people. But we can display an amazing lack of political sense at times, especially when it comes to international matters.

English Quakers Oppose Conscription

THE BODY which acts as an executive committee for the English Society of Friends is known, quaintly but often aptly, as the "Meeting for Sufferings." On May 5 this body put out, over the signature of its clerk, Sir Arthur Eddington, a statement on the adoption of conscription by the British government which is so important that it must be quoted in full:

> In entering its firm protest against the military training bill, the Society of Friends is led to do so upon the fundamental ground of its understanding of the nature and purpose of God and of the faith learned of Christ. The compulsion of men to learn how to destroy their fellow-men is an assumption by the state of an authority over human personality that is an outrage upon God and man.
>
> It is therefore to the principle of this bill that we are primarily opposed. We are concerned not only with those holding a clear objection of conscience, but with the wrong done to large numbers of youths who have no clear thought upon the matter, and whose mental and spiritual attitude to their fellows is now to be formed in a military environment.
>
> We are also deeply concerned with the great "departure from old traditions," traditions of free government and free persons, that cannot be maintained under any military conscription.
>
> We are conscious of the inroad made upon the home life of the nation where every family is to be made contributory of its youth to military needs. We regard this as in no way leading to any true peace.
>
> We believe that the imposition of conscription in this country as a reply to war preparations elsewhere will only serve to establish here the militarized national life under which human personality is being debased in so many other countries.
>
> The peace of Europe cannot be attained by extending the system of pitting military power against military power, but only in a genuine meeting of the needs of nations and in a just sharing of resources.

Every line in this document is pregnant with meaning. Attention should be given especially, however, to the second sentence in the second paragraph. In all that is being said just now as to the responsibility of Christian bodies to support such of their younger members as may take the conscientious objector position, it is arresting and arousing to find this expression of concern and protest in behalf of those who are *not* conscientious objectors because they have never had a genuine chance to under-

stand the issue and think it through. Here the Christian voice, which the world has learned to expect from the Quakers, once more speaks clear.

The Doctors Oppose the Wagner Health Bill

THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES of the American Medical Association, meeting in St. Louis, adopted unanimously a twenty-two point report condemning the national health bill which is now before the United States Senate. "The A.M.A. would fail in its public trust," declares the report, "if it neglected to express itself unmistakably and emphatically regarding any threat to the national health and well-being. It must, therefore, speaking with professional competence, oppose the Wagner health bill." The doctors' argument runs as follows: no group has done more to improve public health, prevent disease and care for the sick than the medical profession; the proposed legislation not only ignores the opinion of the medical profession, but would alter radically the system under which its highly commendable work has hitherto been carried on—it would, indeed, open the door to "supreme federal control" and "make federal aid for medical care the rule rather than the exception." The first part of the argument is a truism. The second part of the argument may be quite true, and may also be quite irrelevant from the standpoint of everyone except the private practitioner of medicine. Without posing as an authority on the Wagner national health bill, or claiming that this bill embodies the best or most feasible method of dealing with public health needs, we think that the medical association has a weak case and is fighting a losing battle. Regardless of how conscientiously and effectively physicians have done their work, surveys show that a large proportion of the people in this country are receiving no medical care or most inadequate care. There is but one inference to be drawn from this fact—something new and different needs to be done, and the indications are that something is going to be done. If this requires the intervention of the federal government, or something called "socialized medicine," it is absurd to bemoan departing from "the American way." The doctors have surely seen this thing coming for some time. Why haven't they made a positive contribution to the situation by presenting a realistic national health program of their own? As it is, they have placed themselves in a position where they appear to millions of their fellow citizens to care more about saving the prerogatives of private medical practice than about meeting a crying social need.

A Ceremony for First Voters

A CELEBRATION of citizenship day took place recently in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, which ought to be repeated elsewhere and extended to related situations. The seven hundred young men and women of the county who had reached the age of twenty-one within the past twelve months were ceremonially inducted into the tribe of adult citizens receiving the privileges and bearing the responsibilities of members of a self-governing society. Beginning in the churches in the morning, the ritual concluded in the afternoon before the high school building where Chief Justice Marvin B. Rosenberry of the state supreme court briefly addressed the assembled youth and administered the constitutional oath. After the oath was administered a representative of the new voters' association pledged that the youth would put their best and most serious efforts into serving their country, and Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra, president of the University of Wisconsin, reminded the company that it was up to the generation now reaching adulthood to determine whether or not the complex problems of our society can be solved democratically and without sacrificing liberty. It was a well conceived ritual, calculated to reveal the significance of passage into the full rights of citizenship and to mark the fact that these rights are accompanied by the most serious responsibilities. A similar ceremony might well supplement the mumbled legal mechanics of naturalization.

Palestine—Pawn of Empire

WORLD JEWRY has risen in anger and despair against the proposal for the future government of Palestine contained in the British white paper. In Jerusalem and Tel Aviv great demonstrations have led to several minor riots, in which at least one British police officer has been killed and more than a hundred Jewish demonstrators are reported to have been injured. Mass meetings of protest have been held in England and the United States. Cabled protests and appeals have reached the British cabinet from Jewish circles in Scandinavia and throughout the British colonies. In the face of the European situation, with the Jews being harried out of Germany and Italy, and threatened with expulsion from Poland, Rumania and Hungary, this outburst of Jewish wrath at the prospect of being barred from Palestine is natural. Great Britain must have expected it.

The Arab rejection of the British proposal is not so easily explained. On all major points the white paper favors the Arabs. The Palestinian state which it proposes to erect would be assured a permanent Arab majority, with Arab preponderance in its cabinet posts and Arab control over the legislature which, after a transitional period, it is assumed would be established. What are said to be the principal causes for Arab opposition—failure to end Jewish immigration immediately; the promise to maintain Jewish population at one-third of the total; lack of a definite date for the granting of independence—offer no convincing reason for rejection of a plan which would ultimately grant the Arabs all their important demands. A more likely reason for the Arab decision is to be found in Britain's refusal to allow the Grand Mufti to return to Palestine. But the Grand Mufti's record for trouble-making seems amply to justify that refusal.

Despite rejection by both Jews and Arabs, Great Britain gives every evidence of determination to go through with the plan outlined in the white paper. British reasoning follows this pattern: something must be done to put an end to the strife in Palestine in order to safeguard British interests in the Near East; Jews and Arabs have had their

chance to work out a negotiated settlement and have failed to do so; a settlement must therefore be imposed; this is the best settlement available, and the sooner it is imposed and the inevitable period of protest endured and left behind, the better for all concerned. The measure will be bitterly fought in Parliament, not only by the opposition parties but by elements in the Tory party which are responsive to Jewish pressure. Pressure may be exerted on the British government from abroad; American Jews have not given up hope of a protest from the United States. Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Great Britain will impose this settlement without serious modification. Empire interests are at stake which forbid further delay.

It has been the failure to recognize, or at least admit, the controlling part which empire interests have played that has done more than anything else to turn the whole Palestine issue into such a sorry mess. At the moment American Jews are upbraiding Britain for having taken part in a "moral betrayal" in proposing to set a limit to the size of the Jewish community in Palestine. But if Britain is to be excoriated for moral shortcomings in connection with Palestine, the condemnation should be directed far more against her original action in writing the Balfour declaration than in drawing up the present white paper. The Balfour declaration to the Jews followed the McMahon correspondence with the Arabs by more than two years, and the pledges given were mutually contradictory. The Peel commission admitted as much. A large part of the white paper is devoted to an attempt to prove that neither the Balfour declaration nor the McMahon correspondence meant what their recipients thought they meant. The Jews believed that the trick phrase, "national home," meant that Palestine was to be made a Jewish state, and the white paper asserts that it meant nothing of the kind. The Arabs believed that the McMahon promise to the Sherif of Mecca of an independent Arab state included Palestine, and the white paper insists that it did not. Both Jews and Arabs, in other words, were deceived by a diplomacy interested only in saving the empire.

After his first outburst of anger at his betrayal passes perhaps the Jew will see that he has been a pawn of empire from the beginning. He was given the Balfour declaration in 1917 to help Britain win the war. He has been encouraged to develop Palestine—and a marvelous job he has done of it—so that the mandatory power should have a strong, friendly base at a vital point in the Near East. Now, as the Arab menace grows, coinciding with the rising ambitions of the axis powers, the Jewish expansion is suddenly checked. Why? It is one of the virtues of the white paper that it candidly lists the aims which it is pursuing in seeking a settlement in Palestine, and among the three the third is this: "Such requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by his majesty's government in the light of circumstances then existing." Put into plain language what that means is: no menace to the flanks of the Suez canal, a safe naval base at Haifa, a safe right of way and coastal terminus for the Haifa oil pipe line. Or in other words, it is now the Arabs who must be satisfied.

The more realistically the Jews study this imperialistic situation, the more difficult becomes their problem. What are they to do? With almost unanimous voice they now declare that they will resist the imposition of the white paper scheme. But how will they resist? The possibility of violent resistance seems already to have been abandoned, after a few initial outbreaks by the wild men of Jabotinsky's Zionist Revisionists. Reports from Jerusalem now speak of a united campaign of non-cooperation, centering on refusal to pay taxes, somewhat after the Gandhi model. But the bitter fact is that resistance of whatever nature, in so far as it is designed to weaken Britain in the Near East, plays into the hands of Mussolini and Hitler. Because their "national home" ideal has become so preponderantly a political concept, and has been so tightly hitched to British imperial policy, the Jews will now find it almost impossible to resist the British without themselves swinging over to a policy that works out as support of fascist imperialism. They will not mean to do so. They will try to convince themselves that they are not doing so. But the political situation at the present moment is so contrived that they cannot help themselves.

The Christian Century has been saying for years that it does not believe any completely just and moral solution of the Palestine problem can be found. The whole problem grows out of such a tangle of deceitful World War diplomacy that it is not susceptible to an ideal solution. The solution proposed in the white paper unquestionably involves betrayal of the hopes and faith of a heroic and nobly sacrificial group of people—the Zionists, both inside Palestine and in other lands. But it does not involve the end of Zionism. And it may be that what today looks to many Zionists like black defeat will, in the light of history, turn out to be glorious victory. Israel's history has known many such experiences.

Suppose that the white paper scheme is imposed exactly as it stands today. What will that do to world Jewry? It will make the refugee problem more difficult, and to that extent will place an added responsibility on the nations which have formed the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees to find a haven for the homeless elsewhere. But it never has been seriously expected that little Palestine could take care of the entire Jewish refugee problem, especially if that problem spreads to other parts of Europe as it gives promise of doing. The Jewish community in Palestine is not to be wiped out. It has grown since the war from about 60,000 to approximately 450,000 persons; it is to be further increased by 75,000 within the next five years. (Immigration during recent years has averaged about 12,000 a year.) The ambition to make Palestine a Jewish state must be dropped, but there is no reason why under the new British proposal it cannot still become a cultural and spiritual center for world Jewry.

The Jew has had a tragic experience as a pawn of empire. It was so when the empires to which he looked were Egypt and Assyria; it is so today. But if Jewish devotion can turn from the ambition to achieve secular statehood—which if achieved will create an ambiguous position for every Jew outside Palestine—to the ambition to make of Zionism a demonstration of the universal values in Judaism, social as well as religious, the great blow which has fallen on Jewish hopes with the publication of the British white paper may turn out to be a blessing

in disguise. We do not assert with certainty that this will be so. But we do say that, in the providence of God, it may well prove to be so.

Moral Rearmament

DR. FRANK BUCHMAN, true to prophetic form, has been accorded more honor in foreign lands than in his own country. His Oxford Groups have never made anything like the impression on the United States that we are told they have made on certain European countries and South Africa. This situation, however, has been modified in recent weeks. One of Dr. Buchman's slogans, "Moral Rearmament," has suddenly begun to receive nation-wide publicity. His meeting in New York's Madison Square Garden on Sunday evening, May 14, gathered an audience of 12,000 and enlisted the approval of such persons as President Roosevelt's mother, Secretary Hull, Attorney General Murphy, Senator Wagner, Mayor La Guardia, Governor Lehman, Herbert Hoover and Dr. Alexis Carrell. Under this slogan, Dr. Buchman and his followers have for the first time seemed to give promise of playing an important national role.

What is "moral rearmament"? For twenty years Dr. Buchman has been thinking up slogans intended to describe the nature and solution of our common spiritual troubles, and to galvanize men into moral action. Almost exactly a year ago he devised one that had history on its side. Speaking in London, he said: "Hostility piles up between nation and nation, labor and capital, class and class. . . . The remedy may lie in a return to those simple home truths that some of us learned at our mothers' knee, and which many of us have forgotten and neglected—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. . . . The nations must rearm morally." Except for the last sentence, it had been said a thousand times before. Not only had Dr. Buchman said it, but almost every other speaker and writer commenting on the moral aspects of the contemporary crisis had said something equivalent. But an international storm was soon to pick up this particular phrase struck off by the leader of the Oxford Groups and carry it around the world.

Europe shuddered through the September crisis. Thirty-three members of the British Parliament, feeling that Versailles had been unjust, that another war to defend it would be preposterous, and knowing not what to do, turned homiletical. They did the thing which every disturbed Englishman of substance does instinctively—they wrote a letter to the *London Times*. May the answer to the world's difficulties not be found, they asked, in a "rededication of our people to those elementary virtues of honesty, unselfishness and love"? Calling attention to "a crusade for 'Moral Rearmament,' which seems to be spreading rapidly," they concluded by affirming their belief "that something of this kind is urgently required."

Ten days later, Lord Baldwin and sixteen others appeared in the *Times* with a statement saying the same thing; within a month everybody was saying it. The German and Italian press thought it a good idea. Still later, the Canadian federation of mayors and municipalities declared that moral rearmament was the key to the solution of that dominion's problems. And now a resplendent company of American notables have testified to being of like mind. With a singular likeness of phrase which suggests a common authorship (compare, for example, Dr. Buchman's London speech of a year ago with Mrs. Sara Delano Roosevelt's message to the New York mass meeting: "Only by a return to the truths—honesty, purity, unselfishness and love—which we learned at our mothers' knee, can we restore unity to America and sanity to the world") the testimony now seems to be nearly world-wide and unanimous that Dr. Buchman has voiced a vital truth. We *do* need to be morally rearmed.

Nevertheless, the question persists: Precisely what is this moral rearmament? One has surprising difficulty in finding out. In addition to what has already been indicated there seems to be little behind the phrase that is definitive or substantial. However, certain specific propositions or assumptions underlying and accompanying it may be stated. One of these is the belief that the crisis of modern civilization is not primarily of a political or economic nature, but spiritual and moral, and therefore will yield only to a treatment which places men in a new orientation and reorganizes their living around the values of "honesty, purity, unselfishness and love." Another, which is a corollary of the first, is that each man and each class or nation must abandon self-righteous attitudes, and become willing to face his (or their) own sins. Still another corollary is that moral-spiritual recovery requires the recognition of the demands upon one's own life of the ethic one pretends to endorse; one must first choose and decide to accept for oneself the way of life which one thinks the world should practice.

All religious-minded people will concede that these propositions, so far as they go, are right and sound. Indeed, their importance is becoming increasingly appreciated in a world which has gone in madly for a type of pseudo-morality which expresses itself in demands upon the other fellow or the other group. How many of the people who have signed up with the moral rearmament cause accept these propositions, or even know of their existence, is a question we shall touch upon in a moment. But it is to Dr. Buchman's credit that he has appreciated the importance of what happens inside a man.

Aside from the foregoing, as the Oxford Group vocabulary uses the term moral rearmament does not seem to be anything precise. It sets up no particular instrument through which to work; it has no body to it, either in the sense of a fellowship or of a doctrine; it has no genuinely definitive moral-spiritual concepts, and no clearly conceived goal. It is vague, amorphous, individualistic and opportunistic. All of which is characteristically Buchmanish.

For it is one of Dr. Buchman's central notions about regenerating the world that the proposition of living a moral life should be put up to the individual and left there on his private doorstep for him to deal with as he sees fit; that there should not be an organization to his movement, no comprehensive body of doctrine to cause controversies, no particular program, and no goal other than the dream of a golden age. "Suppose everybody cared enough, everybody shared enough, wouldn't every-

body have enough?" asks Dr. Buchman. Or as the leaflet puffing the recent New York rally put it: "The golden age, the new civilization . . . can dawn in my country when all who read this begin to rearm morally, and in the world when my nation is ready to give a lead."

This naiveté actually destroys the moral rearmament campaign at the very point where Dr. Buchman aims exclusively to apply it—the point of personal decision. On the one hand, insincerity and escape from personal responsibility are encouraged; and, on the other hand, those who take the campaign seriously are supplied with a blanket sanction to affirm more ardently what they are already believing and doing.

Is it not proof enough that moral rearmament means nothing or anything, when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek telegraphs: "Glad focusing world attention on this all-important question of moral rearmament," and when the Japanese prime minister simultaneously telegraphs: "Believing necessity of moral rearmament for solution of world problems, sincerely hope for every success for your noble movement"? Thus used, moral rearmament must be seen to be one of those hollow, noble slogans which everybody can accept, but which either remains hollow when accepted, or else is given only such meaning as the person using it chooses to give.

In the first case one stands for moral rearmament in a purely stuffed-shirt sense. He climbs on the bandwagon; he approves the respectable formula; he perhaps feels that something good may somehow come of it. So he signs up, not intending to do anything about it because he doesn't know what to do. At best he piously hopes that somebody else will know what to do and will do it. This sort of insincerity or irresponsibility was admitted and catered to by the organizers of MRA week when they prepared high sounding statements and shoved them under the noses of certain popular sports heroes, pressing them to sign in the name of being a good sport and of helping a fine cause along. A number of such signatories have never exhibited the faintest trace of religious conviction, and some of them when interviewed afterward admitted that they didn't know what it was all about.

On the other hand, those who take moral rearmament seriously are compelled to interpret it in their own terms, because it does not provide its own interpretation. It is piety without a context. Inevitably, one rearms with his own morality, values, loyalties and outlooks. An internationalist becomes more international, a nationalist more nationalistic, a nazi more Aryan and totalitarian—each believing that he is practicing honesty, purity, and the like. Thus moral rearmament may mean anything. Last September it laid its hand on a young Sudeten German then living in America and sent him back to work for the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, although he described it as "being a constructive force in the nation and in my minority." In these days when a common mind and common standards have ceased to exist outside a very limited circumference, it only adds to the confusion to run around the world urging everybody to be "moral," to live by "sound principles."

Although moral rearmament à la Buchman thus boils down to a confusing futility, this judgment does not dispose of the whole issue. There's something to moral rearmament. This particular brand of it is adulterated with that type of free lance moralism which is too ignorant and thin and weak to achieve its purposes. It is futile only because it lacks an adequate vehicle, and because it is not set within the context of a tradition and world view which would make it incisive, comprehensive, profound, wise and substantial. If it represented a stirring within the Christian church, if it represented the Christian philosophy acting to make history, it would, we venture to say, be something to cause the repressed hopes of men to sing aloud for joy and the principalities of darkness to shiver. It is for this meaningful type of moral rearmament that harried humanity still waits.

The Anonymous Architect

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: If you were to proceed to your office and ask your colleagues, learned all, to cease from their immediate tasks and to write down the names of six great architects, I should not be surprised to hear of their failure. They could tell you of six divines, six statesmen and perhaps six editors; but architects—no! The doom of oblivion awaits most famous men—preachers a generation after their deaths, nearly all actors, journalists with a few exceptions. These all must be content in the end to be nameless. But there is no calling so anonymous, even in his lifetime, as that of the architect. A big builder must be content to let his life be written in the stones of the earth.

After all, does it greatly matter whether or not his name is on everybody's lips? There are drawbacks in being famous, though I have not tasted them myself. It must waste much time and bring many temptations. The famous man may even come to delight in being "the cynosure of every eye" as he walks down the street; he may so desire the praise of men that he may shrink from their blame. In any case the Anonymous Architect can go on with his own work uninterrupted. He can impress his mind upon his material. And because he has dreamed dreams and seen visions, and because he is a good craftsman, there will arise from the earth a glorious answer to the eternal heavens.

There is a pathetic illusion about this craving for a name to be attached to our achievements. "I have reared a monument more lasting than brass." It was natural that Horace should use such words, but in the last resort would the world be much poorer if his odes were unsigned? If the poet entered after death into eternal silence, what difference would the attachment of his name make to him, or what value would the praise of Horace have for him? Or if he entered into the endless life, there would be another perspective altogether and other standards of value and other springs of delight.

It must be very pleasant to have one's name written upon the scrolls of earth. But I doubt whether in choosing a calling a man should be deterred by the doom of being anonymous.

Yet I should like to have been a Big Builder.

Ever yours,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

Is Conscription Democratic?

By Harold E. Fey

FOLLOWING three pledges that his government would not introduce conscription in time of peace, the latest promise being scarcely a month old, Prime Minister Chamberlain on April 26 announced a momentous reversal of policy. Great Britain, which secured five million fighting men by the voluntary system during the first years of the World War, is now to initiate compulsory service. Boys are to be conscripted between their twentieth and twenty-first birthdays for six months of military training. After completing their time they will be given the choice of entering the territorial army for three and a half years or else of becoming members of the active reserve of the regular army, subject to call at the discretion of the government. On May 16 the government majority beat down by a vote of 241 to 140 a Labor proposal lowering the voting age so young men of twenty could vote in parliamentary elections.

Of the 310,000 men who will be affected each year, it is expected that only 200,000 will actually take the military training. Physical deficiency, which causes the rejection of 60 per cent of the men who are examined for service in the regular army of Great Britain, will account for the rejection of large numbers of those now called up. Most of the rest will be conscientious objectors. Under the new plan, they will be examined by tribunals set up for the purpose and, if found to be conscientious, will be set at "other work of national importance." Nothing is said in the government's announcement as to what will be done with men who consider conscription for any purpose to be state slavery and deny that the state has the right to impose any form of involuntary servitude.

No Guarantees to Labor

June 3 has been set as the date for young men of conscript age to register. Medical examinations will begin five days later. The first 40,000 or 50,000 to be called up will receive their notices on July 1 and will start training on the 15th, with other contingents coming at intervals of two months. The pay will be about 36 cents a day, with more skilled navy or air force men getting as much as a dollar. A Labor amendment requiring guarantees that conscripts would not be used coercively in industrial disputes was rejected by the parliamentary majority as "unnecessary," as was another which upheld their right to continue trade union membership.

The political sterility of policies based on hatred and fear was never better illustrated than by the ineptitude of Labor's bitter but futile opposition to this move. Hatred of Hitler and fear of fascism caused Labor to support rearmament, although George Lansbury resigned the party chairmanship on the issue and foretold at the time what has now happened. The Tory party, having used Labor support until it can dispense with it, now breaks its promises and initiates conscription without even the customary courtesy of advance explanation to opposition leaders. By helping war preparations Labor has given such hostages to fortune that it is incapable of carrying out its own pledge to the nation never to permit conscription of life without conscription of wealth. The international merchants of death, having made fifty billions in profits out of the slaughter of 1914-18, are therefore once more in position to make fortunes which will make that vast sum look like pin money.

Why Conscription Now?

The immediate reason for the adoption of conscription now is undoubtedly the menace to the British empire which became apparent when Hitler abandoned his racial irredentism and marched into non-German Czechoslovakia. If the "drive to the east" was not to stop with the amalgamation within greater Germany of Germans only, but was to continue until the vast resources of the Danubian states had been swept into the war chest of the third reich, then the balance of power which Great Britain has long sought to maintain on the Continent would be gone and the British empire itself would lie at Hitler's mercy. The same logic which combined with Prussia against Napoleon more than a century ago, which refused to unite with an all-powerful France in her efforts to encircle Germany after the World War, now sides with Daladier in offering military guarantees to Poland, Rumania and Greece against the new-born military might of the axis powers.

Once Britain set its feet in the pathway of empire and accepted the efficacy of military methods of defense, dependence upon not only the treacherous insecurity of the military alliance system but also upon compulsion was inevitable. Conscription was necessary to make the alliances seem to mean anything. Not only the small nations which were in the path of the nazi juggernaut but also France inclined to discount the value of the guarantees which "perfidious Albion" had given. When the step was taken, the *Petit Parisien* commented editorially, "Poland, Greece and Rumania will see in conscription the most positive proof of the practical significance of the guarantee given to them." M. Brossolette observed in *Populaire* that "it was neither morally nor politically possible for Great Britain to postpone any longer at least the partial introduction of compulsory military service." Chamberlain himself, on May 11, confessed: "During the discussions we have been carrying on . . . it became clear to us that doubts existed as to the seriousness of our intentions. . . . This feeling we found to be so strong that it was actually jeopardizing the success of the policy we are pursuing of trying to build up a peace front. We could not resist the conviction that there was no single step we could take that would so encourage our friends . . . as that we should introduce compulsory military training in this country!"

The second reason was to prepare more adequately for the beginning of the war which is now accepted as almost inevitable, and which will begin, if at all, quickly and

catastrophically. In spite of extraordinary enrolment efforts and of the supposed natural belligerency of man, recruiting had fallen far behind what were regarded as the minimum necessities. Pacifist propaganda had had something to do with that; government admissions that "the bomber can always get through" had much more. Entirely aside from the needs of new expeditionary forces for the Continent, which might be recruited by voluntary means, the problem of "keeping order" at home will not be inconsiderable in a war in which the government has to be prepared to care for a million casualties in greater London in the first week. Such slaughter among a population which, to begin with, wants peace will require the presence of large numbers of troops. The beginning of conscription at this time makes less likely sudden panic in the event of war and renders much easier the extension of the principle later.

The most important reason for the introduction of conscription, however, is that on the eve of the vast social changes which war will bring, it strengthens the grip on the economic and political life of the country of the Conservative party and of the imperialist interests they represent. A corollary which underlines the opposition's political stupidity in supporting rearmament which makes conscription inevitable is that conscription weakens Labor. The *Manchester Guardian's* political correspondent wrote from Westminster immediately after the introduction of the government's bill: "Tory . . . regret that conscription is to be applied only to a one-year class is tempered by the admission of the principle." The principle having been conceded, the process of fascisization will proceed apace.

Defending Democracy

The meaning of this internal development was accurately set forth in the American Congress in 1917 by Representative Huddleston of Alabama when conscription was successfully urged upon our country because it had just been adopted in Great Britain. His words are as true in 1939 as they were in 1917. "It was adopted as a political measure rather than a military necessity," he said. "Britain has her conscriptionists, her privileged and selfish classes, who have been clamoring for conscription for years. It is from them that our conscriptionists have borrowed their methods. The British conscriptionists comprise a powerful political faction. Through their newspapers they hammered the government constantly. They criticized and bullied, and finally the government gave in. Conscription in Great Britain was adopted to disarm the political opposition of the conscriptionists, not because it was necessary to carry on the war." What the new victory of this group may mean in America tomorrow was quickly forecast when on April 28 Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt answered a reporter's question by saying that she sees no need "as yet" for conscription in America, but that she feels "very strongly that we should begin to think of owing some part of our lives to democracy."

Let us admit that. But what has conscription to contribute to democracy? Today in Great Britain the argument is heard that the defense of democracy demands this compulsion and that it is in itself democratic. Since in 1917 the British reasoning and example provided the most powerful single impetus to our own conscriptionists, we shall be well advised if we look carefully in advance of a new agitation at this point. With France, in the opinion of the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* "in the past year having ceased to be a democratic republic," and with the mother of parliaments herself voting involuntary servitude upon her citizens, America's capacity to think clearly about the relation between compulsion and democracy may well prove decisive to the whole future of government by the people.

Conscription is held to be the savior of democracy. It is an old argument, having been brought up as early in American history as the war of 1812, while Napoleon, who fastened the conscription system upon Europe, was still a factor in Continental politics. The answer which Daniel Webster, then an unknown figure in the House of Representatives, gave has never been surpassed. In a speech which Charles A. Beard describes as "so furious that it was deemed expedient to suppress its publication for nearly a hundred years," he said:

> The administration asserts the right to fill the ranks of the regular army by compulsion. It contends that it may now take men whenever its occasions may require. Persons thus taken by force and put into an army . . . may be put on any service at home or abroad, for defense or for invasion, according to the will and pleasure of the government. . . . Is this, sir, consistent with the character of a free government? Is this civil liberty? Is this the real character of our Constitution? No, sir, indeed it is not. . . .

The principles of conscription, Webster continued,

> are not warranted by any provision of the Constitution . . . not connected with any power which the Constitution has conferred upon Congress. . . . The Constitution is libeled, foully libeled. . . . Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents and parents from their children and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or wickedness of government may engage it? . . . An attempt to maintain this doctrine upon the provisions of the Constitution is an exercise of perverse ingenuity to extract slavery from the substance of a free government. . . .
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> The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. They have not established at a vast expense of their treasure and their own blood a Magna Charta to be slaves. . . . Government equipped with these arbitrary powers possesses over us a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, more dangerous, more allied to blood and murder, more full of every form of mischief, more productive of every form of misery, than has been exercised by any civilized government with one exception in modern times. . . . What would have been more absurd than for this free Constitution to have said, that to secure the great blessings of liberty it gave to government an uncontrolled power of military conscription? . . .
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> A compulsory loan is not to be compared in point of enormity with a compulsory military service. If the secretary of war has proved the right of Congress to enact a law enforcing a draft of men out of the militia into the regular army, he will at any time be able to prove quite as clearly that Congress has power to create a dictator. . . . A free government with arbitrary means to administer it is a contradiction; a free government without adequate provision for personal security is an absurdity; a free government with an uncontrolled power of military conscription is a solecism, at once the most ridiculous and abominable that ever entered into the head of man.

But it is said that conscription is democratic because it shows no favorites, compels the unwilling to face the same

dangers which the willing assume, levels off class distinctions, and equalizes the burdens of maintaining democracy. There are good reasons to believe that in practice it fails in each of these points, but even if it were to succeed it would still be incapable of serving democracy. Out of the weeks of debate on this question in the United States Congress in 1917 came words which were too quickly forgotten by the war-maddened public of that day, but which deserve to stand with the scathing periods of the great Webster.

Democracy Means Liberty

"We are told that compulsory military service is democratic," said Senator Thomas of Colorado. "Mr. President, that is a libel and a reproach upon the name of democracy. . . . You say that it is based upon equality, putting the same burden upon the rich and poor, high and low, Jew and Gentile. But democracy does not mean equality—alone. The feudal system is democratic upon that reasoning, and slavery as well. . . . In bringing the African here no favorites were played. Every black man caught was exported and sold as a slave. Was that democracy? We might establish a state system of religion, compelling every man, woman and child to observe its tenets under such penalties as disfranchisement, deprivation of goods or personal liberty. Would that be democratic because applying with equal force to all everywhere? Even the submarine warfare is democratic when measured by that test because its bloody program knows no exceptions. . . . *Democracy means liberty, and liberty is wholly at war with the autocratic weapon of compulsory service.* . . . It is equally true, Mr. President, that as the absence of this system is characteristic of democracy, its presence is inseparable from despotism. . . . If the reasoning in favor of this bill is sound, Germany is the most democratic of nations."

Representative Huddleston, who led the opposition in the House, said: "Conscription is undemocratic because it develops bureaucracy, takes the control of affairs from the representatives of the people, places it in the hands of officials who are out of contact with them . . . because it forces men into an autocratic system in which respect is given to authority, not merit; in which the rewards go to places and not to capacity; in which servile obedience is the highest virtue and independence and individuality the most serious vice. Its tendency is toward autocratic and not toward popular government. Conscription is state slavery. It is involuntary servitude, not for crime." Senator Reed summed up the matter when he said on the following day: "The claim that the draft is democratic is the very antithesis of the truth. The draft is not democratic, it is autocratic; it is not republican, it is despotic; it is not American, it is Prussian. Its essential feature is that of involuntary servitude."

The Way to Stop Hitler?

But it is said that conscription is necessary to stop the onward march of Hitler and world fascism. Such an argument attempts to divert attention from the fact that imperialist powers have determined to cling to empires created by conquest and completed at Versailles. They will neither divide with the new thieves which have come late into the field nor will they, in the interest of world peace and order, avert this further wrong by freeing colonies capable of organizing their own governments and internationalizing the rest. In other words, conscription is necessary to defend imperialism, not democracy. Having decided not to avert or placate fascism by attempting to remedy fundamental injustices, the decision is perforce made to fight fascism for control of the profits of empire.

Democracy in its true meaning of freedom and equality cannot be defended by conscription, which is involuntary servitude maintained by a military and economic caste system. The British adoption of conscription must therefore eventuate sooner or later in an open choice between some form of communist or fascist totalitarianism, and it is hardly likely to be the former. There are many reasons to believe that the present British government has observed that since dictatorships seem to be able to maintain themselves for a considerable time, it matters a great deal who initiates the regime, what its purposes are and whom it seeks to please. The government is now in position to move as rapidly toward totalitarianism as circumstances dictate. Rearmament, military alliances and conscription serve notice upon the world that Britain would rather be rich than be free, would rather maintain imperialism than preserve democracy.

The British sovereigns are now making an unprecedented visit to America. Such embassies are not the spontaneous, free gestures that they appear to the common man to be. They are only decided upon after extensive and careful consideration in councils of state, in both the sending and the receiving countries. The present tour would never have occurred had not the British government desired and the American government agreed to create in the world the impression that Great Britain has behind her policies the support of this country. While nobody could desire that now that the king and queen are here they should receive anything but a friendly welcome, we should in an unmistakable way mark this occasion by dissociating ourselves from the politics of empire. The maintenance and strengthening of the neutrality law, renewal of the plea for world conference as the alternative to world war and strong support for the proposals now in Congress making a national referendum mandatory before this country can conscript its youth, would not fail to be understood as having that meaning.

Their Eyes

THE national order came: "Stop thinking!"
Secrecy was everywhere, commandeering,
Narrow excitement of drawn blinds;
And now their eyes are upon us,
On our fine shapes, warrior sternness,
Our legionary swing and tramp.
We know nothing of broken hands, voices ended.
In the pleased glitter of their eyes
We could march quite briskly
Over a precipice.

ALAN CREIGHTON.

A Liberal Bandaged but Unbowed

Nineteenth Article in the Series "How My Mind Has Changed in This Decade"

By Robert L. Calhoun

WHEN Dr. Morrison's thirty years of editorial service through The Christian Century began, I was in the eighth grade. During a full half of these thirty years, his mind has been a salutary factor among the many which have been reshaping mine. It is with an acknowledgment of debt, therefore, that I try to set down here some account of what has been going on in me during a part of this time.

Not that it matters much, to any but the few people who have to get along with me at close range. What matters most to them, moreover, is how I actually behave, not what I have been thinking and why. But only on the latter point is there anything to say here. And there is little assurance that even this can be reported accurately, for ten years back. In the absence of a written record there are only afterthoughts to offer, and afterthoughts in these matters are of course tidied up to suit one's present mood and the public gaze. What follows, then, should be regarded with suspicion. Especially if it should fit in too neatly with what everybody else says in this series. For that will mean that instead of reporting an individual course of events, I shall have slipped into a current fashion, and simply retailed that.

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In any case it seems necessary to start by trying to say what there was of me when the decade began. My mind, or whatever it is, has always been a rather messy jumble of strains never properly sorted out. One of them is an incurably sentimental, Pollyannish one that has to be snubbed continually, and at times is highly embarrassing. Another seems to be a more legitimate sort of emotional irritability that makes for weeping, glowering or wall-banging on various provocations. This sometimes boils over quite suddenly. Another is a combination of indolence, timidity and like ingredients that seem to go along with a distressingly slow basic tempo and chronic tardiness of response in all sorts of situations. Still another, late to appear but seemingly as durable as the rest, is a kind of profane delight in logical clarity and "hard facts." This strain was a dominant one in my lawyer father, but he died before I knew him as a distinct person at all. It probably was strong also in his father and grandfather, both southern Presbyterian preachers who pioneered in Minnesota from territorial days. I have a marked-up copy of Jonathan Edwards' *Works* that belonged to the former, and another of Calvin's *Institutes* that belonged to the latter, and in both it is the hardier passages that are underscored.

This strain of realism cropped out first in my younger brother, who until his death in 1927 was studying medicine and preparing for research in pathology. I slowly learned to prize it in him, and in other medical friends and relatives-by-marriage among whom it has been necessary for me to keep some sort of footing for upward of twenty years. The scientific temper and habits of mind concretely embodied in these half-dozen chemists and medical people have been for two decades a part of my household air. Without being able to match them, I have liked their straightforward thinking, and have come to rejoice at finding similar straightforwardness in certain philosophers and theologians from Plato onward.

This relatively late discovery of what "science" means to a scientist was superimposed for me on a small-town, middle-class, midwestern upbringing and a liberal college and seminary course. Both upbringing and education were absorbed like so much milk and eggs, with entire docility and without any intellectual misgivings. There were plenty of emotional headaches, such as a verbally precocious and otherwise immature youngster has to put up with in school and college. But there were no mental or spiritual upheavals, no serious disillusionments, and no fundamental doubts of any sort. Throughout a rather sickly, sheltered, happy boyhood and a more independent but never obstreperous youth, an ingrained confidence in people—especially older people—and a naive trust in God never wavered. These were most of all my mother's gift to me, and she was a person of no lukewarm kind.

With minor though growing disturbances, this outlook of mine had lasted through college, through six years of further study at home and in England during the war and the early "peace," and then through six years of teaching in college and seminary. A decade ago, between 1926 and 1929, for reasons that do not matter here, the whole structure was demolished. Naive trust was gone, and first numbness, then corrosive doubt took its place. Doubt that there is any God, and that the world's noise means anything. Doubt that human beings—even older people—are fit to run their affairs without such tutelage as they plainly do not have. Doubt that I, in particular, had ever been or would ever be more than a kind of glib, walking lie, made of shiny words. The collapse, long overdue, was thorough.

II

All these doubts have persisted, and I presume will persist. But their deadly paralyzing force seems to be gone. After the first few months of chaos, a new foundation of confidence began to take shape in me, far below the word-level. At first tenuous and elusive as cobweb, it gradually became a fabric of such strength that neither criticism (which I have courted) nor shock has since broken it. It seems to be one sort of faith in God. But it is so undramatic and matter-of-fact, so lacking in thrills and moral splendor, that if anyone should say he has a better name for it, I am quite ready to listen. I know it is not the outcome of a deliberate "will to believe," nor of an articulate thought process. Of "unconscious wishes,"

naturally, one can speak with less assurance, but at least I am not wholly unacquainted with the better known theories about these also, and have tried to take them into account. In any event, the faith I am talking about is something come upon me, not something I consciously produced. Both I and others have tried to break it down by critical analysis, thus far without success.

This new confidence was first prompted, unless memory at this point is all wrong, by two very hard facts: the invincibility of a clear-headed medical student dying of cancer, and the impassive bulk of the Rockies above timber line, which I saw for the first time four months later. To them were added almost at once the departure of another young doctor, my closest friend, for the Rockefeller yellow fever work in Africa, from which he did not return. I worked over his diary later, and read with a layman's eye the papers in which he had summed up his part of the cooperative research. What even I could see in his mind and in my brother's, a kind of quiet ruthlessness and candor in search of truth, stood up well alongside the rock masses of the continental divide. It was reassuring beyond words to find that sort of strength so unostentatiously embodied, so close by. It was no less reassuring to realize that the actual world they had faced —the world of mountains and microbes—though it had brought death to their bodies had first yielded up some of its secrets to their minds, for other men to use. It was not simply a nightmare world, then. At least in some respects it made sense.

III

How far it might make sense I did not know. Some of the easier parts of Whitehead, then Plato, then a whole series of thinkers lighted up by these two, helped me to glimpse a few of the simpler presuppositions that scientific men take for granted in their work, and encouraged me to look further. Next it became evident that workmanship of all sorts, from the humblest to the most exalted, calls for similar presuppositions. Little by little the notion grew on me that all of these slow-coming, painfully obvious insights of mine were, without exception, elaborations of the inarticulate confidence which had itself been growing in me all the while. My faith in God, then, born or reborn out of the ruin of thirty years' attempts at thinking, was slowly taking shape in the midst of close companionship with working scientists, a little of whose temper I may have caught. It was guided by philosophic arguments, a little of whose drift I have understood. And it grew and became interwoven into an everyday working life which has called for so much more than all my resources that I am never caught up.

That tells about where things were and how they were going ten years ago. The personal theology in which these tendencies were trying to articulate themselves was liberalism of a familiar sort. My thinking ranged between the romantic immanentism of Schleiermacher, at one extreme, and the science-minded, sharp-edged theism of Tennant, at the other. Kant was presupposed in both, and Plato (especially in his later dialogues) seemed to me to have laid foundations for them all. Platonism became a growing enthusiasm and "rational theology" a kind of passion.

Along with this went a simple sort of social liberalism: the outlook of a sheltered, small-town person of mild habits, very slightly aware of the more savage forces that operate in the economic and political arenas. Except at one point. The peace treaties and the post-war flood of pre-war documents had driven me to a pretty thoroughly disillusioned pacifism, as regards modern war. I knew then a good deal less than everybody knows now about international politics, the forces that underlie it, and the diversity of its problem situations. The detailed pattern of my pacifism, therefore, has changed, like any empirical conviction, in the light of new data, mainly in the direction of pessimism for the immediate future. The tangle of political and economic conflicts is so much worse than I realized ten years ago, and the apparent resources of human intelligence so much less, that I no longer hope confidently for "peace in our time." But the basic conviction has grown stronger, not weaker, with every year that nothing men can do to mankind is worse than the totalitarian war of our era.

This is not to call war "absolute evil," nor to say, "There never was a bad peace." Nothing human is absolute evil, not even war; and Versailles and Munich—those "open covenants, openly arrived at"—cry to heaven how bad a peace can be. The point is simply that however bad the alternative, a general war is almost certain to be worse. Moreover, if and when general war comes again, there will be need for a much larger minority than there was in 1914 to resist the inevitable war hysteria, the orthodox dehumanizing of the enemy, and the making of another nationalistic peace. I am still a pacifist, then, set against war—most of all against expeditionary war in defense of democracy, peace, freedom, religion, or anything else high and noble. Even wars for self-defense, legally justifiable and pulse-stirring as they are, seem in most cases to retard rather than to advance the labored struggle of mankind toward humane living. In some cases it may be otherwise. I do not see how one can know in advance, unless one can get very clear answers to the questions: "What precisely is to be defended? Is it likely to survive mobilization of industry and the public mind for war? What other methods have been tried, and are still to be tried?" But trying to answer these questions is likely to bring into the foreground problems of quite another sort, though it took me a good while to see it.

IV

If the aftermath of 1919 ruined my taste for war, it was the aftermath of 1929 that has ruined my complacency about our kind of peace. Before the Coolidge bull market I took American capitalism for granted. Worse than that—and my ears redden at the memory—I was more than a little dazzled by the noisy prosperity of 1928-29, and mistook it for boisterous, if somewhat immoral, good health. Economic crises were to me only vague words, and economic morality chiefly a matter of individual honesty and good will. *Mea culpa.* It took three years of growing disillusionment and anxiety to cure me of that particular blindness. But the cure promises to be lasting. I read some samples of Veblen and then of Marx and Lenin and various lesser image-smashers, trying hard

for the first time to see what they were driving at. This was not easy, for an economic illiterate, but it seemed all the more necessary for that reason. At the same time, it seemed necessary also to try for some notion of what more orthodox economists were saying; so I tried to read a little of Moulton, Slichter and Keynes as well.

Keynes' *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* had dropped at my feet like a meteorite back in 1920, and stirred me to a fine moral indignation, but it had been an isolated impact. Now, with the predictions of that book being visibly fulfilled on all sides, I began to sense in some living fashion a really concrete relation between ethics and economics. For the first time it began to dawn on me in what sense moral values may be recognized as interwoven with, and "dialectically" exemplified by, the massive order of economic facts. Instead of seeing moral obligations simply as individual and social ideals externally related to the factual order of life and physical reality, I began to see them as demands on human life no less intrinsically real than gravitation. Familiar words about God in history, and a moral order of the world, were becoming concrete for me as I struggled to come to terms with economic determinism, both as theory and as an increasingly evident and momentous fact.

Not, however, as the most ultimate nor the most important kind of fact. The still more ultimate world of mountains and microbes and the uneasy animals we call men, once established in my thinking, remained unforgettable even for a little while. Human nature, in the sense of man's basic physical, emotional, impulsive and intellectual constitution, somehow moral at the core, seemed plainly more fundamental than any particular sort of human behavior, even economic; and human nature itself emerges in a world order far more ancient and more fundamental still. Against that background, dogmatic collectivism has seemed only a little less shallow than naive individualism. Less shallow because it recognizes at least that the individual is not master of his fate and cannot live for himself alone, but still shallow in supposing that the human group—class, race or species—can do so.

There is no particular elation, but there is a grim sort of reassurance in seeing men's latest collective efforts in Russia and Germany to seize for themselves by violence a kingdom of heaven, colliding once more with stubborn nature and human nature. Whether the totalitarian governments collapse or change their ways and whether the change comes soon or late, the epidemic of purges and the spreading disaffection of once enthusiastic followers reinforce the old lesson that power in itself is no cure for man's ills, and that human institutions are not equal to the task of assuring human salvation. Man himself is still more important than any of his actions or institutions, and much more difficult to make over. For that very reason, man is less important even to himself than the God whose world has brought mankind to birth, and who must save them if they are to be saved.

V

Concerning both of these more basic matters, man and God, my thought has moved from a primarily philosophic toward a more definitely theological orientation. Ten years ago I scarcely distinguished these terms, except as regards their scope. Theology seemed to me essentially a more specialized kind of religious philosophy. Eight years ago my first serious encounter with Barthian thought, embodied in Visser 't Hooft, Pierre Maury and Hanns Lilje, left me puzzled and combative, and I fear not much enlightened. But Richard Niebuhr's patient, resourceful flank attacks were already making me see that something was there which could not be ignored, something which makes theology a discipline more clearly distinguishable from philosophy than I had suspected.

Six years ago began in earnest my post-graduate theological education: six years of continuous hammering by the more "dialectical" members of a theological discussion group which still retains the fire, if not the innocence, of its younger days. The vigorous impacts of these men—Richard and Reinhold Niebuhr, Wilhelm Pauck, John Mackay, and later Paul Tillich and Emil Brunner, are some of them—have beaten upon me not only during semi-annual week-end sessions, but day in and day out, through their writings and through my vivid, ever present memories of their minds (and bodies) in action. It has been drastic discipline, not always easy to take, but invaluable; the more because of lively counter-disturbances emanating from Edwin Aubrey, John Bennett, George Thomas and other sound liberals whose heads, like mine, are bandaged but unbowed.

VI

It has become more and more plain that I am no fit material for a good Barthian, nor for any kind of theologian except some obstinate sort of liberal. The more extreme kind of revelation-theology, whether Barthian or other, seems to me all too likely to slip into the very subjectivism it deplores. Special revelations—the only sort recognized by this kind of theology—have always needed to be checked by some more general frame of reference: the written Scriptures coolly and historically studied, the tradition and common experience of the church, and the still more general experiences and tested beliefs of mankind. I cannot see any reason to suppose that this need for objective criticism of immediate insights is less today than it was in St. Paul's time, or in Luther's and Calvin's. Nor can I see that a single test, least of all a simple reference to the Bible as understood by the recipient of the special revelation, is now or ever will be a sufficient safeguard against the vagaries to which intensely sincere minds are sometimes even more liable than those whose convictions are less fiercely one-sided. In short, I see no way in which theology can get on safely without history, philosophy and common sense.

In principle, most if not all the members of the group just mentioned would agree, though in detail we are still healthily far from agreement. Such agreement and disagreement, with mutual understanding and respect, is the essence, I take it, of the liberal tradition in its broad sense, from the beginning of Christianity until now.

On the other hand, I have been driven, willy-nilly, to recognize that theology cannot get on without special revelations, either. Indeed, I have been convinced that it

must start from such revelations, above all from those which center about Jesus Christ, and the faith which they evoke. This amounts to a Copernican change in my orientation. With it has come a new sense of the special significance—long obvious enough to others, but to me unsuspected—of the Bible, the creeds, theological tradition, and the Christian church. For years I tried to resolve these simply into illustrations of familiar logical formulas, the while overlooking or apologizing for their more refractory aspects. Now, with the sort of relief that comes when one moves from thin ice onto solid ground, I find myself taking them still more simply as concrete instances of living give-and-take among men, and between God and man, which both demand and resist logical inquiry. That they resist it is no reason to adjourn the effort to get them into rational perspectives. On the other hand, in their presence our logic seems clearly to have neither the first nor the last word.

I have been compelled, in short, to recognize that for theology two foundations are equally necessary: specific revelations of reality both divine and non-divine, and the principle of relevance or coherence which is basic to all rational living. Without the former, there would be no data for theology. Without the latter, all data would be meaningless, and none of them could be construed as revelations of God. *Fides quaerens intellectum* would more nearly describe my thinking today than at any prior time in these ten years.

The rise of the more blatant neo-paganisms has reinforced my conviction of the need for both these factors. If human decency is ever to be won, more plainly than ever it must be in part through the widening and deepening of the rational insights against which the cults of blood and soil are in revolt. But whatever hope I now have for such growth of man toward rational decency is rooted in faith that Jesus Christ has given us men our best clue to the natures of both man and God. If that be true, the Herods and the Caesars will not have their way.

What I Missed at Madras

By E. Stanley Jones

FAR from taking a mere fling at the Madras Conference and farther still from "thundering strident imprecations" upon a fellowship, I wrote my criticism which appeared in The Christian Century for March 15 after deep searchings of heart. Only an overwhelming concern for the Christian mission movement, to which I had given my life, could induce me to do what I knew would be a very unpopular thing. Perhaps when they see what I really mean, I thought, they will forgive me and perhaps in the years to come may even thank me. In the meantime I bowed my head to await the storm. It came.

I suppose I should be flattened out by such a blast from the able pen of Dr. Van Dusen as appeared in The Christian Century on March 29. I respect Dr. Van Dusen greatly. But after bending before it, I straightened up again unscathed, unrepentant and unchanged, except at one point. After more mature deliberation, I think I overstated the case when I said, "Madras looked out and saw the Kingdom and the church at the door, opened the door to the lesser and more obvious, the church, and left the Kingdom at the door." Madras made no such deliberate choice. If the Kingdom in large measure was left out it was because of fundamental preoccupation with the church as the very basis of the conference. The Kingdom went by default rather than by choice. For Madras was the child of Oxford and Edinburgh and the lines were laid along which the conference would run. It was not possible to have an untrammeled examination of the Christian movement and its task, as in the Jerusalem Conference, for one thing in the Christian movement—the church—had been picked out beforehand as the center and everything focused around that. It became the starting point for all the thinking. And the Kingdom was pushed to the edges of the delegates' consideration at Madras by that very fact.

But one or two preliminary misunderstandings must be cleared first. I am not an "apostle of the social gospel." I trust I am an exponent of the gospel of Christ, which redeems through the cross both the individual and the social, bringing them under the reign of God. Nor do I equate "the Kingdom of God" with "a new social order," as Dr. Van Dusen wrongly suggests I do, using quotation marks as though quoting from my article. If I have used the phrase elsewhere, though I cannot remember that I have, it was an inadvertence, for to me the Kingdom of God is God's order, which includes the social, individual and very much more.

When we come to the points which Dr. Van Dusen attempts to make against me personally, they are four:

1. I came to the missionary conference unprepared: "Stanley Jones jumped from a plane and plunged into the heart of the meeting at midstream without special preparation or introduction" while "some of the delegates started months in advance in order the better to acquaint themselves with the actual realities of the Christian mission which they were to discuss." I cannot understand how Dr. Van Dusen, a careful man, could let his foot slip so badly. Obviously I did not step out of that plane into the Madras Conference. For, besides acquainting myself with the pre-conference literature, I stepped into the conference from thirty-two years of constant and intimate contact with the actual realities of the Christian mission throughout the world. If I may say so respectfully, it was Dr. Van Dusen who stepped out of a professor's chair in a theological seminary into the Madras Conference and, without any previous special first-hand relationship with Christian missions except that which was

gathered on a tour of a few months to Madras, undertook to direct the thought of the conference, and now waves his hand and says that some of us who had lived with these problems night and day as the very atmosphere of our lives came to the Madras Conference "without special preparation or introduction"!

The Church Is Suspect

Had Dr. Van Dusen known by experience the following simple fact it might have vitally changed the outlook and emphasis of the conference: Stand before an intelligent non-Christian audience in India and begin from a church-centric position and work out and see how far you get. In a few minutes you will be floundering. For the church is deeply suspect in India as bound up with communalism, imperialism and the old order. But begin with the Kingdom of God and work out to all the problems of life and you have a message that cuts through everything with incisiveness. Jesus, as the door to such a Kingdom, and the church as the chief means to the realization of that Kingdom, necessarily follow. But Dr. Van Dusen lacked that experience.

2. Dr. Van Dusen says that "many fellow delegates . . . thought he felt himself something of an outsider." This, I feel, is an exaggeration. At least it is the first whisper I have had of such a suggestion. I had no such feeling, and I wonder if the fact of my presuming to challenge the fundamental basis of the conference is not responsible for this thought.

3. The third charge Dr. Van Dusen levels against me is that I am guilty of "an individualistic proclamation of the message of the Kingdom," that my thought is discovered to be "a radically individualistic advocacy of a predominantly social message," and that while others were striving for "community" I was only "an advocate of community thundering strident imprecations beyond its fellowship in solitary aloofness." Here again Dr. Van Dusen has reckoned without his facts. This *is* "a caricature" as Dr. Van Dusen, deep down, suspected. For besides working in close harmony with all the churches and giving my life for the revival of the churches and advocating in season and out the union of the churches, I have given a good part of the last ten years to the actual achievement and practice of community life.

Real Fellowship, Not Theory

In India we call this attempt an ashram, in the West we would call it a brotherhood—a phase of the church life, under its sponsorship, but a deliberate attempt to achieve a deeper community life than is possible in the ordinary organization of the church where the members meet other members two or three times a week in a more or less superficial way and then go back to live out their individual lives in their own homes. Dissatisfied with that expression of community life, we have a group of many races and classes living together permanently, where we share a common fund, have a common table, think through our problems together, make group decisions, try to demonstrate the Kingdom of God in miniature and to serve the life around us in various ways. Now Dr. Van Dusen, partaking of the ordinary superficial community life of the church, teaching in a seminary, living in his own home, attending various conferences, ecumenical and otherwise, calls what he advocates community demonstration while I, living in a community life, submitting to a community discipline, am preaching "a social gospel in an individual way, in solitary aloofness from fellowship"!

4. Dr. Van Dusen says that "the message of the Kingdom which Stanley Jones wished to make pivotal . . . was not Jesus' message of the Kingdom, but Stanley Jones' message of the Kingdom." Who decided which was Jesus' message of the Kingdom and which Stanley Jones'? Why, Dr. Van Dusen! His interpretation of the message of the Kingdom is Jesus' message of the Kingdom, while my interpretation is Stanley Jones' message of the Kingdom! Naive? I realize, of course, that my message is only an interpretation more or less approximating Jesus' message of the Kingdom, and so is Dr. Van Dusen's.

Dr. Van Dusen implies that the conference heard my message of the Kingdom and rejected it: "This the conference was unwilling to do." This is not true to fact. Three times I presented the message of the Kingdom at various places in the conference and all three times the conference accepted it. The first was when the sectional committee and later the plenary session both accepted the portion of the *Report* which I wrote on "The Church and the Changing Social and Economic Order," and this report works from the Kingdom standpoint to the problems of the social and economic order.

The Kingdom as an Afterthought

The second was when I called attention on the floor of the conference to the relative emphasis on the church and the Kingdom in the "Report on the Faith by which the Church Lives"—the report which Dr. Van Dusen largely wrote and in which the Kingdom was only mentioned three times more or less as flourishes on sentences and not the working idea. The conference, including Dr. Van Dusen, accepted my criticism, sent the report back and Dr. Van Dusen incorporated a paragraph on the Kingdom. Note in passing that in the original presentation there wasn't a paragraph on the Kingdom in the report on "The Faith." Compare that with the teaching of Jesus and also compare it with Dr. Van Dusen's reply to me in which he talks about "making the Kingdom central." Is having not even a paragraph on it, making the Kingdom central?

The third instance of my presentation of the Kingdom was in my address on Christmas morning which Dr. Van Dusen is gracious enough to say was "the finest we have ever heard him give; certainly it was one of the strongest addresses of the conference."

In none of these cases was there a rejection by the conference of my message of the Kingdom. In all three cases there was acceptance. But those presentations and those acceptances were of such slight nature that they did not influence basically the conference, which, because it was founded on a church-centric position, had to work out its findings on that basis.

Dr. Van Dusen raises the question as to what alternative I had to communism, not merely as a philosophical system, but as a movement. My answer is simple: I have

the Kingdom-of-God movement which includes within itself those elements in the churches which embody the Kingdom-of-God life and everything outside the churches which works for Kingdom-of-God ends.

The Point at Issue

I hope I can now dismiss these personal matters and get to the point at issue. First of all, let me say that Dr. Van Dusen must not be allowed to maneuver me into a false position as he has done. The issue is not that Dr. Van Dusen and others he represents are pro-church and I am anti-church, that they are pro-ecumenical and I am anti-ecumenical, that they use the instrument of the church while I do not. This would be basically false. For I am just as much pro-church and pro-ecumenical as he, and I use the church as the instrument of the Kingdom as much as he does, and if I may say so humbly, perhaps more.

The basic contention I made was that the conference, instead of working down from the absolute order, the Kingdom of God, to all relativisms of church and state and race and family and individual, began at the relativism of church and worked out to other relativisms and was, therefore, hesitant and confused. That issue is really unanswered.

One answer attempted was that it was right to do so "in the period immediately ahead." In other words, opportunism demands that a relativism should be used to confront other relativisms. I should have thought in the period immediately ahead we need as never before to confront all relativisms claiming absolutism with God's absolute, the Kingdom of God.

Is It 'Both—And'?

Another attempted answer was that it was not an "either-or," but a "both-and" proposition regarding church and kingdom. But are these "both-ands" coordinate? The fundamental question is the relative position of the two. I believe that the Kingdom of God is an absolute in that it doesn't relate itself to something higher than itself; the church is a relativism in that it has to relate itself to something higher than itself, the Kingdom of God. It gets its authority and function, its right to live, its discipline and judgment from a higher standard of reference, the Kingdom of God. The "both-and," then, is not that of coordinates, but that of one subordinate to the other, the instrument and means to the other.

This absolute standard of reference was not emphasized in the Madras Conference; it was not the master conception from which to work down to all the problems of life. Dr. Kraemer, in his able book, insisted that the conference must not fall into relativisms. And by a strange irony it did the very thing he warned it against! He emphasized the absolute God, but a jump in thought was made by the conference from that absolute God to the church, a relativism, as the working idea of the conference. Had they worked from the absolute God to the absolute order, the Kingdom of God, through Christ as the absolute Person, preaching and illustrating that order, then worked to the questions of church, state and so forth, the way would have been clear and the conference compelling and decisive. But when that link of the absolute order between the absolute God and all relativisms was dropped out through lack of emphasis then confusion resulted.

Dr. Van Dusen argues that the Kingdom was put in "at appropriate places." But what is the "appropriate" place in which Jesus put the Kingdom? He put it first: "Jesus went out preaching the gospel of the Kingdom." It was the only thing he ever called the gospel. It is true that later on he preached himself as that gospel. But it was as embodying that new order in himself, the Kingdom personalized, that he did so. He made "for the Kingdom's sake" and "for my sake" synonymous. In him the cause and the Person had coalesced. Now where is the appropriate place for such an order? Obviously it must be the starting point, the master light of all our seeing. And where there is a conflict between the Kingdom and the church, or the Kingdom and race, state, class, family, individual, they must all give way.

Two Centralities Impossible

Dr. Van Dusen argues that the church and the Kingdom must both be central: "The decision to make the church central. . . . But this is not to the neglect of the centrality of the Kingdom." How can you have two centralities when one of them is subordinate to the other? And when one of them only imperfectly approximates the other in thought, spirit and deed? Centrality belongs to the absolute. And when you try to make them both central, the result is that you make a gesture toward the absolute and turn to the relativism and make it your working idea and center. As Madras did.

Moreover, Dr. Van Dusen on the floor of the conference stated in reply to me, "We could not make the Kingdom of God the central emphasis because the conception is too difficult to define." Now driven to change, he states in his article that he does make the Kingdom central: "This is not to the neglect of the centrality of the Kingdom." He cannot have it both ways. Which statement does he now stand by?

He brings in as a chief witness the report of "The Church—Its Nature and Function," as defining the proper relationship between the Kingdom and the church. He might be interested to know that the bishop who was chairman of this section and who wrote the report said to me: "If I had heard you on the Kingdom of God before the Madras Conference, the report on the church would have been different. It is all clear now. You have converted me and it is difficult to convert a Lutheran!" So his chief witness for the prosecution has become a witness for the defendant!

Dr. Van Dusen says that the Kingdom of God emphasis is not necessarily socially radical. It can be made socially conservative. That is a truism. For anything in Christianity can be so twisted and so interpreted as to lend itself to conservatism. But the question is, Would the evident intention of the meaning of the Kingdom of God as interpreted by the prophets and Jesus with God as King over all life, individual and social, end in social conservatism or in fundamental change?

Dr. Van Dusen again says that there are ardent

churchmen who are socially radical, witness the radical wing of the Anglo-catholics. To this we agree. But why are they socially radical? The spring of their social radicalism is not in the fact that they exalt the church above the Kingdom, or identify the church with the Kingdom, but in the fact that they subordinate the church to the Kingdom. Listen to one of them, Conrad Noel: "There is yet one other misinterpretation which has equally to be corrected, namely, the idea that the Kingdom of Heaven is identical with the catholic church. . . . The phrase was sometimes used in the sense that the early church was the seed of that new world order; . . . that the church was considered the organ of that brave new world, the midwife, to change the metaphor, to bring it to birth." (*The Life of Jesus,* page 43.) One can see the source of that social radicalism; it was not the central emphasis on the midwife, the church, but on the new world about to be born, the Kingdom of God. I am absolutely at one with such a church emphasis, for it is a church emphasis disciplined, corrected, judged and redeemed by a higher emphasis, the Kingdom of God.

Church Emphasis Tends to Conservatism

Dr. Van Dusen says that to make the church central does not make for social conservatism. But his very attitudes during and after the conference illustrate the point, for he brought in a resolution explaining to the world why this conference could say nothing on the aggression in China and the persecution of the Jews in Germany, the reason being that it would cause peril to Christians in those countries, but another and more obvious reason was that the fellowship of the conference would be imperiled, as the Japanese and German delegates would resent it. So a resolution was brought in to explain why there was no resolution. This position which the conference had to take was the working out of its church-centric basis—the fellowship had to be maintained on no matter how compromised a basis.

If you make the church the center, then you must of necessity make the fellowship within that church the end. You must, therefore, raise no embarrassing issue. Does that church-centric basis make for social conservatism? It did right in that conference. Two crying wrongs, one on China and the other on the Jews, were being perpetrated and the conference dared not lift its voice in protest lest the fellowship be broken. Now Dr. Van Dusen, after having presented this resolution, tells in his article how he and I "spent the afternoon after the conference adjourned puzzling together how the conviction of individual delegates on the Japanese aggression in China might be adequately disclosed to the world." In the framework of a church-centric emphasis Dr. Van Dusen was socially conservative, but when he stepped out of the conference and was in the framework of the Kingdom he was a different man. For in the church-centric framework they were bound to maintain a fellowship, even if that lost leadership on a great moral issue.

Some people said to me across India after the conference, "What really happened at Madras? We can't find out. All they say is, 'There was a wonderful fellowship.'" To many people that was the outstanding thing—the wonderful fellowship. It was especially so to people from the West who were not used to having fellowship with people of so many races. To some of the rest of us it was a commonplace. I live a community life with a group composed of the following nationalities: Arab, Chinese, Turkestani, Afghan, Punjabi, Marathi, Hindustani, Tamil, Malayali, Garhwali, Malay, American, British, Danish, Dutch, Australian, Swedish, Lettish, Norwegian, Finnish and others. To us, fellowship across race and class lines is a daily commonplace. We were, therefore, not swept off our feet by it at Madras. For we have found by experience that is it possible to have fellowship between races on a very superficial basis leaving the basic issues untouched.

The Church Not at Madras

And now I come to what I missed at Madras. Dr. Van Dusen says it was the church. It was. And I'll tell you what kind of church I missed. I missed a church which started from where Jesus started, the Kingdom of God, and found instead a church which started with itself, and therefore largely ended with itself and the saving of its fellowship, dangerously near to fulfilling the statement of Jesus that he that saveth his life shall lose it. I missed finding a church which was under the conscious discipline, correction and cleansing judgment of an order higher than itself. I also missed a church that had in its hands the master conception from which it worked to all lesser conceptions. I missed a church which, while conscious of its mission as the chief instrument of the Kingdom of God, also was humble enough to rejoice that God was using other instruments to bring in the Kingdom in greater or lesser degree: the scientific movement as it is harnessed to social and economic betterment, Gandhi's movement in India showing us the way to conquer by suffering and the vast movements for social and economic justice outside the church. I missed a church which said that the Kingdom of God is the hope of the church and of the world and found instead a church which said, "I am the hope of the world." I missed a church loyal to the Kingdom of God and found a church, by emphasis, loyal to its own fellowship.

Loyalty to the Church

Am I disloyal to the church when I point this out? I plead not guilty, for I am loyal to my fingertips to a church which is loyal to the Kingdom of God, but I am disloyal to a church which, by emphasis, is disloyal to Jesus' central emphasis. Am I "thundering strident imprecations" upon the fellowship? Rather I am opening my wounds to the fellowship, wounds which tell how deeply I am hurt that the greatest conference of Christendom met in the land of my adoption and left little or no impression on India, for it got little beyond the communalisms of India which meet to save their fellowship and center attention on themselves; hurt that the conference did not send us forth with a mighty message and challenge of God's new order ready to break into this tottering world order of ours to replace man's way of life, in both the individual and collective will, with God's way of life—an order which is more totalitarian than all present day totalitarianisms, more social than all social-

isms and more individualistic than all individualisms, whose law of life is love and whose method of conquest is a cross.

That is what I missed at Madras. My critic says I missed the church. I saw the church he is talking about and it isn't big enough. Not for this hour.

Nevertheless, this church, with all her faults, is the mother of my spirit and the best serving institution on earth and I shall stick to her and live for her and, if necessary, die for her and shall not be content till she comes more fully under the redeeming and cleansing sway of the Kingdom of God.

BOOKS

New York Then and Now

PORTRAIT OF NEW YORK. *By Felix Riesenberg and Alexander Alland. The Macmillan Company, $5.00.*

NEW YORK, AN AMERICAN CITY, 1783-1803, A STUDY OF URBAN LIFE. *By Sidney I. Pomerantz. Columbia University Press, $5.00.*

ONE WHO would know America must know New York. Hasty visitors from abroad—who see America more sketchily than the maligned American tourist sees Europe—often thinks he needs to know no more. We assure him that New York is not America, that it is not even American. On second thought we admit that America isn't either, and when we have revised our definition of "American" to include a thousand streams that are not in the tradition of William Brewster or Thomas Jefferson but nevertheless are irrevocably and inalienably here, we find that we have taken in New York too and that it is more comprehensively and variously American than any other equal area of our staggering square mileage.

These two completely dissimilar books form an incomparable introduction to New York. The "Portrait" shows what it is; the "Study" tells how it began to get that way. The "Portrait" is done in words and photographs, both of dazzling brilliance. Risenberg is the novelist who wrote *East Side, West Side*. Alland is a professional photographer who has exhibited in many shows and whose work has been included in many collections of the cream of photographic art. The book which they have jointly produced is neither a verbal description with illustrations nor a picture book with explanatory text. It is a portrait done in two mediums—64 full-page photographs and about 150 pages of print—neither subordinated to the other. Either would be complete by itself, but they are ingeniously woven together. "This is no guide—ye who follow me are lost." But, properly disclaiming the function of cicerones for the visitor from the hinterland or *outre mer*, or for the even more parochially minded New Yorker, the authors introduce their customers and clients (it would be invidious to say "readers," when half of the appeal is to the eye) to the soul of the city and to all the paradoxical and baffling forms in which the city's life expresses itself. Guide or no guide, the book tells the buyer or borrower more about New York than he can learn from a visit to the fair.

Pomerantz' "Study" of New York in the two decades after the War of Independence is sober, sedate, scholarly and factual, but that does not mean that it is dull. Quite the contrary. But the zest and color are those of the materials themselves. New York had 21,863 inhabitants when the Revolutionary War began, and a little more than half that number when it ended. About 10,000 loyalists had left. The boom began after the war. In 1790, New York passed Philadelphia, and by 1800 it was safely the country's metropolis with over 60,000. (By comparison, Philadelphia had 41,000, Boston 25,000, and Mexico City, the metropolis of the western hemisphere, 137,000.) Other American cities have grown faster than that, but this was the first to increase at such a rate and the only one in which so small a seed has produced so large a tree. The civic and cultural developments in New York during these twenty years exhibit the most significant example of that process of urbanization which—unless one makes an exception of the westward expansion—has been the most characteristic feature of the evolution of American society.

This study of urbanization includes the details of the city's political and economic development, the growth of such municipal functions as street improvement, fire prevention, public and private building, water supply, lighting and dock facilities, organizations for the maintenance of order and the administration of justice and for poor relief and public health, and municipal finances. Adequate attention is given to aspects of the cultural life—religion, education, literature and the press—and to the modest beginnings of the amusement industry which has since blossomed into such splendor and tawdriness. For serious students of American history or of urbanization as a phenomenon of social evolution, Mr. Pomerantz' admirable study can be considered a sequel to O. T. Barck's *New York City during the War for Independence*.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

"PERISH THE JEW!" A CLINICAL TREATMENT OF ANTI-SEMITISM. *By David Goldberg. Bloch Publishing Company, $2.50.*

Adapted to be read with equal profit by Gentiles and by Jews, Mr. Goldberg's thoughtful, scholarly and dispassionate study of the Jews in relation to their environment through the ages is perhaps a diagnosis, rather than a "clinical treatment," of anti-Semitism. But one need not quarrel with the subtitle of such an excellent book. The first step toward the treatment of any disease is to understand it, and the author makes a notable contribution to understanding. Avowedly he writes from the standpoint of a Jew, but he spends little time in lamenting the woes of his people or in allocating the blame. There is, he thinks, nothing "uncanny" about the survival of the Jew. It is due to adaptation through the capacity to think and to suffer, and these abilities are not unique endowments but were developed under pressure. The Hebrews in Palestine had no such stamina, and the ten tribes were "lost." The remnant developed it in captivity, when they became the people of a covenant rather than of a land, and still more in the diaspora. There was irreconcilable conflict between the Jewish ideal of spiritual power and the Roman way of domination by physical force, with the Christians at first on the side of the Jews. But in the Roman Empire, Christianity became a religion to believe in rather than a spiritual principle to live by and thus moved from alliance with Judaism against paganism to alliance with paganism against

Judaism. This was even more marked after the papacy gained temporal sovereignty. The effect of this upon the Jews is traced. "Aye, we have sinned." The course of modern anti-Semitism is drawn in bold lines but with keen interpretative insight. To the puzzling questions as to whether the Jews are a nation, a race, a linguistic stock or a religious community, the answer is in each case negative. But to call them at last "a peoplehood," distinguished by the consciousness that they have "seen affliction with the rod of his wrath," seems to leave that question still unanswered. But many other, and perhaps more important, questions are answered, and the final note is one of courage and hope. (It is a pity the proofreader was apparently on vacation.)

DOWN-EAST DUCHESS. *By Ruth Blodgett. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

The duchess of the title is the real thing. She buys the distinction with the money left her by her first husband, a New England manufacturer of woolens. But the story concerns primarily a New England family and the changes wrought in it by the World War, the boom and the depression. The whole makes an entertaining novel, well put together.

Books Received

Dictatorship in the Modern World. Edited by Guy Stanton Ford. University of Minnesota Press, $3.50. Textbook edition, $2.75. A revised and enlarged edition of a symposium which immediately gained wide attention at the time it was first published four years ago. New chapters include Harold C. Deutsch on "The National Socialist Dictatorship," Hans Kohn on "Between Democracy and Fascism," John N. Hazard on "The Soviet Union: A Working Class Dictatorship," Thomas K. Ford on "Kemalist Turkey," Harold S. Quigley on "Dictatorship in the Far East," Calvin B. Hoover on "The Economics of Fascism," Peter H. Odegard on "Propaganda and Dictatorship," and several others. For a general handbook, it would be difficult to find a better book than this.

Christian Reunion. By Robert Williams, rector of the Episcopal Church, Princeton, N. J. Published by author. No price given.

The Privilege of Age. By Vida Scudder. Dutton, $3.50. (To be published June 15.)

Through Tragedy to Triumph: The World Church in the World Crisis. By Basil Mathews. Friendship Press, cloth $1.00; paper, 60 cents. The missionary problem in the light of current world conditions.

Rural People and the Church. By Thomas Alfred Tripp. Congregational Council for Social Action, 15 cents.

To Beg or Not to Beg. By Heber Corwyn Benjamin. Morehouse, paper 50 cents. "How to make the every member canvass work in your parish."

Christianity in Chains. By E. G. Lee. Longmans, $2.00. Another attempt to indicate ways in which Christianity must be reinterpreted if it is to win the allegiance of modern man over the competing religions of communism and fascism.

Dynamic Christianity in the World Today. By S. M. Zwemer. Intervarsity Fellowship of Evangelical Unions, London, 2/6.

The Rural Church in the Far East. By Ralph A. Felton. Friendship Press, $1.25. Studies made in preparation for the Madras Conference, and first published in India.

Luminous Dust. By Edith Lombard Squires. Kaleidograph Press, Dallas, Texas, no price given. (To be reviewed.)

Fear and Trembling. By Soren Kierkegaard. Translated by Robert Payne. Oxford, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Race, A History of Modern Ethnic Theories. By Louis L. Snyder. Longmans, and Alliance Book Corporation, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Minister of Education. By W. A. Harper. University Post Pub. Company, Ashland, Ohio, $2.00. How a director of religious education revived a church and built up the morale of an entire community.

Romance of the National Parks. By Harlean James. Macmillan, $3.00. The photographs are magnificent, and the text will astonish most Americans with its account of the extent and wonders of the National Park Service.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Common Touch

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have read all the articles by the possessors of the changing minds, most of them with interest, many with much mental stimulation, some with spiritual uplift. Permit me, however, to express my genuine enthusiasm for the one by Dr. Walter Marshall Horton.

Frankly, most of these articles seem to me to have been worked out in a library, or a seminary classroom, though one is conscious, of course, that all the authors are aware of the mundane situation. They are all academically splendid, but quite impossible of translation to the average mind. Also I find myself wondering how these intellectual giants could have missed the daily sequences of the processes of change, and seem to see things only in cataclysms.

Dr. Horton, however, "walks with kings, nor loses the common touch." His last "landmark" on "the social gospel" contains enough sound sense to compensate one for the struggle of wading through all the others. It's of more worth to me than anything I have read in many a day. Thank you for bringing it.

Immanuel Congregational Church, IRA D. FALES.
St. Louis, Mo.

Pacifism's Realism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and one of the less prominent signers of the recent pacifist affirmation of faith, I feel moved to comment on the communication of Edwin T. Buehrer in the issue of May 17. While, as Mr. Buehrer points out, one or two of the original one hundred withdrew their names after thinking it over, not less than five hundred signatures had come in at the time the April issue of *Fellowship* went to press.

I think it unfair to stigmatize the affirmation as "anti-intellectual" simply because it does not move on the plane of historical citations and elaborate reasonings. Its convictions are obviously based on loyalty to Christian principles and a view of war in the light of those principles. In citing the judgment of the Oxford Conference, "War involves compulsory enmity, diabolical outrage against human personality, and a wanton distortion of the truth," the framers of the affirmation must inevitably have had in mind the abundant concrete evidence for such a statement. But elaboration of the evidence for this point and others could easily lengthen an affirmation of faith into a volume.

Still more unfair is the assumption that pacifists are content to rest in a statement of faith as the sum total of their acts and attitudes toward war. To Mr. Buehrer pacifism seems a mere "pious negation" in reference, for example, to the war in the Far East. As a matter of fact, none have been more insistent than have the pacifist groups that the neutrality act be invoked, the effect of which would have been to shut off the enormous aid of munitions and war supplies to Japan from America. If the invoking of this law would have worked to the disadvantage of China, it is likely that Japan would long ago have formally declared war, thus leaving no choice to President Roosevelt but to stop the flow of war materials to both belligerents. In this instance at least the "pious negation" has rested with an administration (and not a pacifist administration at that!) which has chosen to ignore an actual but undeclared war.

No pacifist can object to Mr. Buehrer's call for historical, em-

pirical and logical reasons for pacifism, even though it is a question as to how much elaboration of this kind an affirmation of faith should carry. Historically, the case for nonviolent resistance in place of war is much stronger than is generally realized. Almost every day I pass by a statue of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot. Nothing is less "pragmatic" than the widespread impression that Kossuth was the liberator of Hungary. It was in fact the nonviolent resistance organized by Francis Deak, and *not* the military campaigns of Kossuth, which gained for Hungary the kind of constitutional freedom she was seeking at that particular time. George Fox and his fellow Quakers in 17th century England, though pacifist to the core, were not nonresistants. They fought every evil in sight by entirely bloodless methods, and they played a major part in clearing the way for such freedom of speech and assembly as we enjoy today in Anglo-Saxon countries. Modern pacifism has derived much of its inspiration from the nonviolent campaigns of Gandhi.

That nonviolent resistance *can* be organized effectively and on a vast scale is amply demonstrated. The great problem is to find organizing genius capable of the task, and some may have doubts of the amenability of large populations to such a discipline. But the same problem applies to military undertakings. Lincoln waited a long time for a general who could win battles. In another war, there may be no Grant. And I for one do not envy those whose job it is to keep up the "morale" of a war-weary people.

To some, the pacifist conviction, put in religious terms, may savor of "theological romanticism," but even pacifists do have a little knowledge of the world they live in. Many facts of history indicate that a better world can be built around the convictions they hold.

Church of the Holy City, Cleveland, Ohio. EARL C. HAMILTON.

Not an Atheist

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Bearing on your "Correspondence from Manitoba" in the issue of May 3, in fairness to John Queen, mayor of Winnipeg, I ask the privilege of quoting some sentences from a personal letter from him dated May 16: "I was also interested in your remarks about an article which appeared in The Christian Century stating I am a Socialist, which is true; and an outspoken atheist, which is not true. When one is in public life he is subject to all kinds of misrepresentation, but I can say this now to you: no one has ever heard me proclaim myself an atheist. Naturally those who believe in the profit system . . . and in wars to maintain that system, have no hesitation in branding me as an atheist. I can only say that I don't believe in that kind of Christianity."

Georgetown, Texas. JOHN C. GRANBERY.

Representation for Voters Only

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The related problems of alien representation, the essential fascism of a system which disenfranchises the Negro, and the scandal of the millions of citizens too indifferent to vote, could all be handled together most simply by an amendment providing for a decennial reapportionment of a state's congressional and electoral vote on the basis of the average number of votes cast in the national elections within each preceding decade. That the inclusion of these two additional elements into the Capper amendment would make its adoption more difficult is obvious, but pressure upon its behalf would have the same wholesome effect as the continued introduction of a federal anti-lynching bill. Your suggestion that the "federal government can do nothing about this [government without the consent of the governed, taxation without representation, for millions of our fellow citizens] without more disturbance *than it is worth*" (italics mine) was thoroughly shocking to at least this one reader.

Almost as important, and very similar in character, is the basis of apportioning delegates in the national political conventions. States should have power to name the candidates and determine the policies of a party only in proportion to their support of that party in national elections.

New York City. VERNON NASH.

Methodist Union

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: What have the Methodists done? They have made one big sect grow where formerly there were three little ones—relatively little. The nature of the growth has not been changed. Methodists are as much a sect as ever, perhaps more one, now that they feel the strength of eight millions.

The sectarian structure is not appreciably changed. The smallest branch of the new body was induced to retire from its historic position on the episcopate, reverse itself, confess its sin, so to speak, and yield to a domination which it formerly scorned. But not even a Methodist will acclaim that as a great achievement, since for Methodists the episcopate is an expedient; the issue of apostolic succession is not involved. We must wait until the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians unite to witness the contortions of libertarian presbyters swallowing in one gulp their historic pride and the apostolic episcopate.

The Methodists ran true to sectarian form in legislating doctrine by majority vote. They not only arbitrarily prescribed labels by which the elect are to be known in the community, but they voted proprieties and obligations of citizenship, the majority overriding the minority with even more éclat than the majority commonly practices in a political party convention, in defining party regularity.

In short, no gain has been made at the points where the vitality and destiny of religion in our American society are at stake. Indeed, it is a question whether a big and trebly powerful sect is not more a menace to these sacred interests than are three sects whose divisions weaken them at the point where they are most capable of doing mischief to elemental religion in a democratic community. The ability of the new big Methodism to override the sanctions of truth and the whole community's right to determine the spiritual equities and destiny of the community—that ability is all the more dangerous now that there are eight millions of sectaries marshaled in one compact host, ready to yield to the domination of a single hierarchy which is rendered the less responsible to the community because made more powerful in its own right.

The great and insistent issues in the religious field today are not advanced one whit, so far as the dispassionate onlooker can determine, by the eloquently heralded event of Methodist union. The physical grandeur of the event is rather likely the more effectually to obscure these issues, and overwhelm them with cymbal-clashing demonstrations of irrelevancies.

What is the nature of truth? What place does religion hold in a democratic society? How are democratic forces and sanctions to be placed in control of the community's religious interests? The Methodists have made no contribution to the answer to these questions. They have rather thrust them to one side in their clamorous achievement of what is at its best an irrelevancy.

Summit, N. J. J. E. MCAFEE.

A Shattering Confession?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In the brief editorial "Litvinov Gives Up Office," in the issue of May 17, I was startled to find these words: "We do not pretend to know why Litvinov has been retired by Stalin." After twenty years of close reading of The Christian Century, that is the first intimation I have ever had that your knowledge or information was in any way limited. One of the intriguing things about The Christian Century, which has kept me a subscriber through the years, was just this unusual quality of omniscience on every subject treated in the publication, from war and peace, to economics, religion and theology, unhampered by any maudlin humility. And now comes this shattering confession. Tut, tut, "The old gray mare ain't what she used to be."

Presbyterian Church, Winfield, Kan. RODERICK C. JACKSON.

N. Y. Seminaries Complete Merger

Auburn Retains Its Name, Property in Agreement with Union—Plan for Larger Parishes Progresses

(Correspondence from Syracuse)

SYRACUSE, May 18.—Auburn Theological Seminary, 120-year-old Presbyterian institution of Auburn, N. Y., has concluded an agreement with Union Theological Seminary of New York city whereby it will enter into an association with the latter for the carrying on of its charter purpose of educating young men for the gospel ministry. Union Seminary has acted very graciously in making possible a relationship whereby Auburn will retain its name, its charter and its board of directors and exercise control of its own property and appointments.

No change is contemplated in the ecclesiastical relationships by which Auburn is linked to 17 presbyteries of the New York synod. Auburn will maintain certain professorships and scholarships at Union Seminary and will use the special funds in her possession for the purposes for which they were given. This arrangement will become finally effective when the necessary court action has been obtained ratifying the proposed use of Auburn's funds.

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Auburn Will Serve Union's Presbyterian Students

The particular service which Auburn will render at Union Seminary will be to Presbyterian students. Prof. Robert Hastings Nichols will teach American Christianity and Presbyterian history, polity and doctrine. Prof. Walter Seaman Davison will have charge of extra-curricular activities, and will help in the placement of men and keep in touch with the situation in the church.

For a number of years the financial situation at Auburn has been growing increasingly intolerable and the board of directors finally came to the unanimous conclusion that they had exhausted every effort to maintain their school. After a six months' study of various possibilities the agreement with Union was concluded as being the best possible course for Auburn to pursue.

* * *

Auburn President Accepts Pastorate

Speakers at the commencement and alumni day at Auburn Seminary were Pres. Henry Sloane Coffin and Dean Henry P. Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, Miss Wilhemina Stooker of Berea, Ky., and Pres. Paul Silas Heath. Commencement was held on May 11 in Willard Memorial Chapel. Seven men were graduated and 16 received advance degrees.

Dr. Heath has resigned the presidency of Auburn, and accepted a call to the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Kalamazoo, which has a membership of over 2,600 people, an adequate staff, a beautiful new Gothic church and a well equipped educational building. This church is to be congratulated on securing Dr. Heath as its minister.

* * *

Protestants, Catholics Join in Testimonial to Priest

Testimonials for departing clergymen are common. Uncommon are testimonials such as that which the churches of Sherburne, N. Y., gave on April 3 to Father Raymond P. Lawrence, priest of St. Malachy's Roman Catholic Church of that village, upon the occasion of his removal to another parish. When it was learned that Father Lawrence was to be transferred, the four Protestant churches of Sherburne joined with the Catholic in giving a great testimonial dinner for the priest and presenting him with a purse of some $270. Besides the representatives of the churches the mayor of the village, Mr. E. Robert Craine, Protestant layman, and Dr. A. K. Benedict representing the local Masonic lodge, spoke.

Father Lawrence had served St. Malachy's Parish for more than 14 years. His exceptional capacity for friendliness made him the outstanding spiritual leader of the community, while his good will and gentleness caused him to be loved by old and young alike. Father Lawrence left Sherburne on April 4 to take up his duties in his new parish at Clinton, N. Y.

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Larger Parish Plan Makes Progress

The larger parish plan is going ahead here and there. The Marathon Central District Council of Churches (a larger parish) with 10 churches cooperating was organized last November. Christmas and Easter services were held together. A director of religious education is about to be elected. The Marathon council is being sponsored by the Cortland County Council of Churches of which Dean Lynn H. Brown of Cortland Normal is president.

Rochester presbytery at a recent meeting approved of the plan for the merger of the Memorial and East Side Presbyterian churches of Rochester. The final vote upon this matter will take place very shortly. The name of the merged church will probably be the East Memorial Church. Both ministers, Rev. Theodore T. Hays and Rev. Sinclair Tebo, are to be retained and will become co-pastors at the church. The plan is highly praised by those who know conditions in Rochester. A survey showed that there were 130 Protestant churches in that city and that over 30 of them were "marking time."

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And So Forth

Dr. Sam Higginbottom of India, who has addressed several up-state presbyteries lately, was chief speaker at a conference of youth of Syracuse presbytery in Elmwood Church April 29.

Rev. Elliott H. Chaffee, the well known and beloved minister of the First Methodist Church of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., has accepted the pastorate of the large and influential First Methodist Church of Pittsfield, Mass.

RAY FREEMAN JENNEY.

Colorado Loses Church Leaders

Bishop Cushman Goes to St. Paul, Dr. Sullens to Portland—Church Paper Celebrates Fifth Anniversary

(Correspondence from Denver)

DENVER, May 17.—Colorado is about to lose two of its major religious leaders. Bishop Ralph S. Cushman of the Methodist Church and Dr. A. J. Sullens, superintendent of the Colorado Congregational conference, leave Denver in the next few weeks. Bishop Cushman, who is national president of the Anti-Saloon League, has been a source of strength in the interdenominational program of this area. He was the first president of the Colorado council of churches. Dr. Sullens was a leader in the organization of the council. Bishop Cushman goes to the St. Paul area of the Methodist Church. Dr. Sullens has reached the retirement age but will move to Portland, Ore., where he will continue his ministry in a suburban church.

Bishop Cushman will be succeeded by Bishop Wilbur E. Hammaker who comes fresh from the Oriental scene as bishop of Shanghai. He will be welcomed to the Denver area in June. Dr. Sullens will be succeeded by Rev. Nelson C. Dreier, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Dr. Dreier will bring to his important responsibilities in Colorado a rich background as the successful pastor of a strong church and a leader in Iowa church circles.

* * *

Denver's Mayor Reelected For Fourth Time

The Denver elections of last week put Mayor Ben Stapleton back into the city hall for another four years. He is the only mayor in the history of Denver who has been elected to four terms of four years each. He received more votes at the election than the combined ballot of his six opponents. In the main Denver has been given a very fine administration under Mayor Stapleton. He has won the confidence of both the labor and business leaders of the community. The city is kept as clean, as far as vice conditions are concerned, as any comparable city of America.

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Colorado Sunday School Convention Meets

The Colorado Sunday school convention was held in Denver this week. Judge Norris Bakke of the Colorado supreme court was reelected president of the Colorado Council of Religious Education which sponsored this convention. The major leaders of the convention included Dr. J. Quinter Miller, Dr. Forest L. Knapp, Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins, and Mrs. E. E. McClintock.

* * *

Ministerial Alliance Conducts Training School

The El Paso county (Colorado Springs)

ministerial alliance has recently conducted a standard leadership training school for the church leaders of that area. The classes met in the First Christian Church. The program was concentrated into one week of intensive work. The alliance plans to make this course an annual feature in its program.

The First Methodist Church of Colorado Springs under the leadership of Dr. Loren Edwards has planned and is carrying forward the erection of an educational unit to provide for an expanding program of youth work and religious education.

* * *

Denominations Hold State Meetings

A number of state meetings of the different denominations are held at this time of the year. Rev. L. L. Steadman will welcome the Congregationalists to his church in Montrose next week. Dr. H. H. Donnenworth was elected president of the Evangelical group last week. Dr. E. J. Hendrix was made the moderator of the Denver presbytery in a session where an effort to separate the presbytery from the Colorado council of churches failed. Bishop Hammaker will conduct the annual conference of the Methodist Church at First Church, Greeley, on June 14. Rev. Harry G. Parsons will welcome the Christians for their state meeting at his church in Fort Collins June 12-14.

* * *

'Rocky Mountain Churchman' Five Years Old

The *Rocky Mountain Churchman* recently celebrated its fifth anniversary. Dr. Robert Allingham's venture in publishing a paper for the Protestants of this area is now successfully established. He has resigned as secretary of the council of churches and will devote all his time to the paper. It is no longer the official publication of the council of churches and the ministerial alliance but will be made representative of Protestantism in general through the active cooperation of many leading ministers and laymen.

* * *

Downtown Church Launches Neighborhood Program

The Trinity Methodist Church of Denver held a series of seminars this winter which were directed toward the restudy of the entire program of this leading downtown church which has more than 3,000 members. Dr. Otto Hauser and his officers have shown a fine willingness to formulate objectives and programs suited to their neighborhood and its needs and yet attuned to the far horizons of Christian activity and opportunity. The sensational treatment of their plans by a local newspaper has made their task more difficult but the church is persisting in its effort to plan a finer program for the future of Trinity.

* * *

And So Forth

Rev. W. Scott McMunn has been called from Pittsburgh to the pastorate of the First United Presbyterian Church of Denver.

Rev. Ralph Schwalb of Pueblo has been called to the Congregational Church of Buena Vista and to the chaplaincy of the state reformatory.

VERE V. LOPER.

Nippon Enshrines Heroes of 1937

Government Silent on Casualties for 1938—Kagawa Takes Over Leadership of United Christian Campaign

(Correspondence from Japan)

TOKYO, May 6.—Japan continues to honor and bury her dead. Figures cited by several newspapers place the total of "Japanese losses in Manchukuo, Mongolia, Sinkiang, North China and in various other districts up to the end of 1937" at 156,223. No enshrinements have taken place for 1938 as yet, which means the government is only announcing casualty figures up to and including the capture of Nanking. Even these figures are only arrived at by adding together the various lists given out for enshrinement purposes from time to time; no inclusive casualty report has yet been made. When the Christians last Christmas wanted to hold a memorial service for the Tokyo deceased, the government would give only a list of 1,500 and was none too explicit over the residences and families even of these.

* * *

Patriots Crowd to Spring Festival

At this year's spring festival of the Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo, in which the spirits of all the heroic dead are enshrined, parents and loved ones of the deceased were invited to be present and especially to observe the emperor's birthday. The capital has been crowded with patriotic subjects. The precincts of the shrine were filled with exhibits depicting the military and civil exploits of the Japanese in China. Most of the captured guns and tanks on display bore "Vickers-Armstrong, London" trademarks.

Little is heard of Chiang Kai-shek's April offensive except that it turned out to further Japanese advantage, and the proportion of Chinese to Japanese casualties is reported as about 65 to 1. Certain places figure repeatedly in the news: it must be necessary to capture some objectives more than once!

* * *

'Economic Offenses' Increase

Though there is no apparent rift in Japan's unity nor weakening of her determination to pursue her purposes on the Asiatic continent, there is considerable dissatisfaction over some of the measures employed within the nation to achieve these ends. Many "economic offenses" are reported against the import-export regulations now in force. At an April meeting the Tokyo bar association appointed a committee to formulate popular discontent over various recent government decrees—controls placed upon materials, rise in taxes, etc.—and to advise the government with respect thereto. The heavy industries and related businesses report 10 to 15 per cent earnings during 1938, but the lighter industries upon which Japan's prosperity depends and the middle men's interests are very hard hit. It is reported that manufacturers of goods for export are discouraged not only by lack of raw materials but by labor shortage rising from the heavy inroads made by military service and by high wages in the munitions industries.

The number of women in industry is also giving concern. In Kobe alone there are over 3,600 women working with hammers and wrenches in the steel works, dockyards and factories making electric machinery. Women must work for about half the wages of men, though families must be supported in either case and on public funds where support is lost through war service. On the whole, however, fairly good economic conditions were reflected by the government's announcement that savings of all kinds during the year ending March 31 had increased by over 7,000,000,000 yen.

* * *

Plan Allowance Scheme To Stimulate Births

To care for dependent children the welfare ministry is considering a scheme of allowances similar to those given by the Bank of Japan and other large employers. This, they say, would also stimulate births to replace the decline of 200,000 expected in this year's vital statistics because of economic conditions and absence of fathers in war service. Some public-minded newspapers, however, seem to see in the extremely serious tubercular and parasitic conditions discovered in the teen age youth of five prefectures last summer a challenge to better babies rather than to more of them. Sterilization of those unfit for parentage is also being considered.

* * *

Official Draws Parallel Between Japanese, U. S. History

The visit of the American cruiser "Astoria," bearing the ashes of the late Ambassador Saito, who died in Washington, was the occasion for one of the few official funerals in Japan's modern diplomatic history. It was held with pomp, splendor and an abundance of gold braid and silk hats at the Buddhist Nishi Hongwan temple in Tokyo. Following the funeral the officers and crew of the "Astoria" were lavishly entertained for several days by the government and the cities of Tokyo and Yokohama. This observer could not help wondering just what our American officers were thinking when Viscount Kaneko, one of Harvard's oldest graduates, drew so close a parallel in the histories of Japan's and America's navies and pleaded for no ill feelings between mother and daughter in the "peaceful patrol of the Pacific." More than 200 planes flew in perfect battle formation over the "Astoria" as she steamed out of Yokohama harbor, and the good will mission was thus auspiciously concluded.

* * *

Kagawa Leads United Christian Movement

Three thousand people attended the first mass meeting of Tokyo's united Christian evangelistic campaign held in Hibiya Public Hall last Wednesday evening. They heard Bishop Naide of the Episcopal Church appeal for a united spiritual front to meet the present crisis in Japan's national and international affairs, Miss Kawai urge a deeper reliance on God in the trying days ahead, and Toyohiko Kagawa boldly assert that only repentance and conversion of Japan's leaders, her masses, her youth and even her Christians can save the nation from the moral degradation to which she

with other peoples of the world, has fallen. "From moral debauchery military force can never save a people," said Kagawa; only spiritual and moral regeneration will suffice to purge away individual and national sins, and the gospel of Jesus is the only force capable of transforming personal and social life.

Mass meetings are to be held in various parts of Tokyo and other cities during the next few months and for a period of three years all the churches are thus to cooperate in what promises to be Japan's greatest united Christian movement to date. Kagawa has agreed to give almost full time to the prosecution of the campaign throughout the land.

* * *

And So Forth

The degree to which Japanese Christianity has become self-supporting is seen in the announcement that in view of the reduced income of the World Sunday School Association, the Japan association has declined the usual annual subsidy therefrom and is even now sending an annual contribution to the parent body.

A Christian doctors' association was organized recently in Osaka and the idea is spreading so rapidly that it will probably become a national movement. Free care is being given needy families of men in national service and elsewhere among the unfortunate.

T. T. BRUMBAUGH.

Network of Institutes on World Affairs

The American Friends Service Committee, in cooperation with the Congregational-Christian Council for Social Action, is sponsoring eight summer institutes in widely scattered college centers for the purpose of "creating an active and intelligent public opinion concerning world affairs." Among the speakers will be Eduard Benes, T. Z. Koo, Samuel Guy Inman, Walter Van Kirk, Norman Thomas, Major George Fielding Eliot, Charles G. Fenwick of the Catholic Association for International Peace, and Hon. Karl J. Hambro, president of the Norwegian parliament.

Southern Churchmen to Study Community Building

Representatives of all Protestant denominations in the south will gather at Blue Ridge, N. C., for 10 days in June to study the common objective of building a Christian community. Among the leaders and speakers will be two Methodist bishops, one Episcopal bishop and four state university presidents. It is said that no gathering of such an interdenominational character has ever been held in the south.

Chamberlain Will Respect Conscientious Objectors

According to Dr. Sidney Berry, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Prime Minister Chamberlain assured six representatives of the free churches that conscientious objectors to military service will not be penalized. The representatives made it quite clear to the prime minister that they would be opposed to the government's attempt to force conscientious objectors into any form of national service which would make them a part of the war machine, and the prime minister is said to have promised to respect this viewpoint.

Catholics Urge Fair Boycott

Call Soviet Building Affront to God and U. S.—Notables Attend Funeral for 'Fighting Bishop'

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, May 22.—Roman Catholics have discovered the magnificent soviet building at the fair with its dominating heroic statue of a workman holding a star aloft. Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University, Washington, told a church audience in Elizabeth, N. J., that "no American should go to the New York world's fair until the American flag is placed above that of communism." Simultaneously, at Freeport, L. I., Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society, predicted a Catholic boycott of the fair "until the cross of Christ dominated the skyline in the place of the soviet emblem." Likewise, at a Holy Name Society communion breakfast in Queens, State Senator John McNaboe, who headed the abortive legislative committee investigation of red activities, found "subtle propaganda" in the star and statue.

* * *

Crowds Hear Negro Soloist At St. George's Church

Forty-five years ago Harry T. Burleigh, celebrated Negro singer and composer, was asked by Dr. Rainsford to be soloist in St. George's choir. Yesterday at the 16th annual service of Negro spirituals Mr. Burleigh was honored by the throng that jammed the church and overflowed 2,000 strong into the park to listen to the service over a loudspeaker. "Before I came to St. George's," said the rector, Elmore McKee, "a friend in Buffalo asked, 'Are you going to Mr. Burleigh's church?' " Yesterday's program is to be repeated in the Temple of Religion at the world's fair next Sunday afternoon. Perhaps it will prove more popular there than a recent Sunday night organ recital by an organist from one of our large churches. The recital attracted only 100 people out of a record crowd of fairgoers, of whom only 22 remained to the end.

* * *

Plead for World Peace at Temple of Religion

The Church Peace Union, the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the Federal Council of Churches and the church federations of New York, Brooklyn and Queens sponsored an observance of World Peace Sunday in the Temple of Religion attended by 1,500. Joseph Sizoo of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, Jonah B. Wise of the Central Synagogue, President Philip J. Furlong, of Cathedral College, and E. Leslie Pidgeon, pastor of the Erskine and American Church, Montreal, spoke on the re-emphasis of spiritual and religious values as a way to peace.

* * *

Notables at Funeral of 'Fighting Bishop'

The *Times* and the *Herald-Tribune* carried editorials commending "the fighting

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"An exceedingly suggestive book, replete with sermon material. . . . Rich in suggestions for implementing the New Testament in present-day experience. . . . A book for the layman who needs to widen his social vision. . . . It calls upon all Christians to rebuild society upon a principle of common kinship."—*Religion in Life.* $2.50

God the Creator
George S. Hendry

"This book is an essay on the nature of the Christian knowledge of God, how we can and how we cannot have that knowledge. . . . Interesting, compact, closely reasoned, it is based almost wholly on German scholarship, especially Luther, Barth, Brunner, and Schumann. . . . Moreover, it does not content itself with a mere repetition of the old conservative statements."—*Lutheran Church Quarterly.* $1.50

The Man That Changed the World **Fred. B. Fisher**

"The book discusses in robust fashion the contemporary mood of the world when Jesus came, the streams of influence which went into the making of the mind of Jesus, the church which Jesus established, and the achievements of the gospel through the centuries. . . . Well worth reading."—*Christian Century.* $2

The Pendulum Swings Back **Marvin M. Black**

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"Thoughtful and thought-provoking, the book concerns itself with one of the most urgent questions at issue in the religious world of today. . . . It deals in an unusual fashion with the old yet ever new question, *What is Christianity?* The author's purpose is to restate the unchanging essence of the Faith."—*Christianity Today.* $2

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bishop," Robert L. Paddock, whose funeral was held last Friday at his former church, Holy Apostles. They spoke of his anti-vice campaign that prepared the way for the election of Seth Low's reform administration in 1901 and his stand against competitive church building in the Episcopal diocese of Eastern Oregon, where he served as bishop until his retirement in 1922. Since then he has contributed his name and means to various radical causes.

At his funeral were Juan Negrin, former premier of Spain, Norman Thomas, socialist leader, Grace Hutchins, representative of the Communist party, Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, William B. Spofford of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, and Samuel Cavert of the Federal Council of Churches. Charles K. Gilbert, suffragan bishop of New York, John I. B. Larned, suffragan bishop of Long Island, and Lucius A. Edelblute, rector of Holy Apostles, officiated. Bishop Paddock's life was the Odyssey of a man of tremendous energy and self-consciousness who tried hard to follow more literally than most clergymen the self-denying way of Jesus of Nazareth in serving the Kingdom of God.

* * *

Clergymen Endorse Economic Planning

A plea for "democracy and economic planning" has been made by more than 100 clergymen of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths. It endorses substantially the proposal for concerted industrial expansion advocated by Mordecai Ezekiel, economic adviser to the secretary of agriculture, and others who believe increased use of the country's idle productive power could be democratically planned and would practically abolish unemployment and raise standards of living. These religious leaders stress the moral values of such a move and the importance of consumer and labor participation in the planning of it.

James Myers of the Federal Council, R. A. McGowan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and Edward L. Israel, rabbi of Bar Sinai Congregation, Baltimore, were the conveners of the national conference of the three religious groups of which this statement is a fruit. Other signers were Allan K. Chalmers, Everett R. Clinchy, Benson Y. Landis, Sidney E. Goldstein, Paul Hutchinson, Francis J. McConnell, Thomas J. O'Dwyer (Catholic bishop), Edward L. Parsons, John A. Ryan, Robert W. Searle, Guy Emery Shipler, Ralph Sockman, Charles C. Webber, A. J. Muste, John H. Lathrop, Spear Knebel and David M. Cory—all clergymen.

* * *

School for Democracy At Union Seminary

A one-week "school of democracy" was set up by the Congregational council for social action at Union Theological Seminary for 30 leaders who came chiefly from eastern states. They considered how to make democracy work out the problems of unemployment, relief, labor and use of leisure time. Elinore M. Herrick of the NLRB, James Carey, president of an electrical union, Hubert Herring, Stephen Raushenbush and Henry S. Leiper were some of the speakers in a rich program of talks and field study.

BRADFORD YOUNG.

Michigan Prison Gets New Plant

Buildings at Jackson House Model Penal System—Ann Arbor Methodists Begin Work on New Church

(Correspondence from Detroit)

DETROIT, May 20.—Located on the outskirts of Jackson, Mich., is a remarkable collection of 28 buildings. In appearance they resemble a group of neat and busy manufacturing plants the managers of which take an unusual pride in the beauty of landscaping and garden care. In reality these buildings comprise the new physical plant of the state prison of southern Michigan, and to visit these carefully lighted, well ventilated and adequately sanitized buildings come folk from every state in the union, from Canada and Europe. For here at Jackson is a system of penal control which represents an experiment in human reclamation and one which after two years' trial has been proclaimed by some observers as the most progressive correction measure ever adopted in the United States.

* * *

Individual Treatment Stressed

The system is called "corrective therapy" and its chief emphasis is on individual treatment. A prisoner never loses his personal identity. A classification committee makes a careful and exhaustive study of each new prisoner, who spends 30 days in quarantine before he is absorbed into prison life. The committee continues its relationship with the inmate to assist him in earning his release through the merit of his record and to rehabilitate him for the future life outside the prison walls. Instruction in widely diversified fields of endeavor is available. When parole is granted the inmate attends a special school where preparation for his return to society is emphasized. After his release his environment, health, employment and general welfare are closely supervised until the case is closed.

* * *

Ann Arbor Methodists Build New Church

Construction work has begun on the new $300,000 edifice of the First Methodist Church of Ann Arbor. The old building will continue to house services until the new church is ready for occupancy, probably in March 1940. The new building will provide seating for 1,168 persons, a religious education unit and quarters for student activities. This year a total of 1,664 students of Methodist membership or preference are enrolled at the university.

* * *

Two Unique Birthday Celebrations

Two Detroit ministers are celebrating their birthday anniversaries on Sunday, May 21, and each is making it an occasion for spiritual emphasis. These are not ordinary birthdays for one clergyman will be 80 years old and the other 79. Both are still active. Rev. Frederick P. Arthur, who will be 80, is pastor of the Northwestern Christian Church and during his lengthy service in religious work he has established 14 mission congregations. He has served his present congregation for 12 years. Rev. W. H. MacClenthen, the other celebrant, is pastor of the St. James Methodist Church and his anniversary is serving as the occasion for ground breaking ceremonies for a new $35,000 church structure.

* * *

Detroit Church Council Backs Drive For Clean Literature

The Detroit council of churches has pledged its support to the drive to halt the sale of indecent literature, started here March 26 as part of a movement guided by the Catholic bishops of the United States and Canada. The council has urged each pastor to secure a survey of sales agencies in his neighborhood and has asked that the results be sent to the social service department of the council.

* * *

Edgar Guest Takes Part in Mother's Day Program

For the 21st time, Edgar Guest took part in the annual Mother's Day program held at the Woodward Avenue Baptist Church, of which Dr. John Wellington Hoag is the pastor. The occasion served as an opportunity for prominent men and women in all parts of the nation to send him expressions of tribute and appreciation. Mr. Guest has set up a beautiful tradition for Detroit's annual Mother's Day celebration. It was noted that this year many Detroit churches adopted the suggestion of the Federal Council of Churches and broadened the conventional observance into a "festival of the Christian home."

* * *

Presbyterian Delegates to Cleveland Assembly

Eight delegates representing the churches of the Detroit metropolitan area will attend the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Cleveland May 25-31. The list includes Rev. F. Paul McConkey, Rev. Thomas W. Smith, Rev. Homer M. Noble, Rev. Keith Conning, J. J. McWhorter, J. A. VanCoevering, Harry T. Wunderlach and Anson Boersma.

* * *

And So Forth

On the 25th anniversary of his graduation from the Evangelical Theological Seminary, Naperville, Ill., Dr. Edgar S. Faust, former Detroit minister and now Kalamazoo district superintendent of the Michigan conference of the Evangelical Church, will receive an honorary D.D. degree at the seminary's commencement exercises.

Featuring the convention of the Michigan conference of the Methodist Church to be held in Jackson June 6-11, will be a debate on neutrality between Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota and Clifford M. Utley of Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Edgar DeWitt Jones, pastor of the Central-Woodward Christian Church, was awarded the John D. Long prize for the best sermon of the year on Abraham Lincoln.

It is good news to learn that Bishop Edgar Blake has been reassigned to the Detroit area by the Uniting Conference of the Methodist Church. It was a question whether he would be returned to Detroit or sent to Indiana to head the Indianapolis area. Bishop Blake has previously served in the Indiana field.

WILLIS R. JONES.

Consecrate New Bishop of Haiti

Boston Church Scene of Induction Rites—Dramatize Lucy Stone's Life —Scout Speaker Defends Youth

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, May 15.—An event demonstrating the comprehensiveness of the Protestant Episcopal Church was the consecration on May 3, in Trinity Church, of Rev. Spence Burton, superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, as suffragan bishop of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Trinity loaned its stately house of worship to accommodate the audience of 1,800. In the newly reconstructed chancel where simple services are the rule, an Anglo-catholic high mass was celebrated by four bishops with the aid of thurifers, crucifers, candles and incense. "It is no virtue," said Dr. Kinsolving, rector, "to lend Trinity Church, but an expression of brotherly love, an inspiration to us and enrichment to the diocese."

The international significance of the event was marked by the Haitian and Dominican flags, the latter brought by Canon Archibald H. Beer, also a British consul, and the presence of Bishop Burton's nearest relative, a cousin from India. Son of a wealthy Ohio family, Dr. Burton turned from a life of luxury to accept the vow of poverty in the order. In Boston he has made a reputation as a champion of prisoners and social reforms. He now faces a challenging missionary task in the most densely populated island of the western world, where native and Negro, Frenchman and Spaniard have blended in tragic history.

* * *

Lucy Stone Heroine of Federal Theater Play

The play "Lucy Stone," realistically presenting the career of that champion of women's rights, written by Maud Wood Park and adapted by Robert Finch, is being given by the Federal Theater. Its 10 scenes include her bold pioneering to secure higher education at Oberlin College; her advocacy of the abolition of slavery; her marriage with Henry Blackwell, happy in spite of the stipulation that she was to retain her maiden name; the auctioning of their furniture because she refused to pay taxes until allowed to vote, and its return by their neighbors as a gift. Her daughter and worthy successor in the struggle for larger human rights, Alice Stone Blackwell, witnessed a performance of the play and saw herself represented upon the stage as a girl. Introduced to the audience in the first intermission, she voiced her deep gratification.

* * *

Youth on Right Road, Speaker Tells Scout Heads

At the New England regional annual meeting of Boy Scout leaders in Swampscott, Chester L. Shaw of *Newsweek* testified that, despite "goldfish eating fads," the youth of today are not going to the dogs. "If we look deeply enough into the news, we can see ample evidence of another trend, to decency and honor, based on

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character and true patriotism, not blind and aggressive nationalism. This trend has always existed and can never be erased; and I think that it is growing in such a quiet way that it has escaped public attention. It is accompanied by another trend, growing sympathy toward youth problems on the part of the press. The papers have a lot of fun with sensational episodes and jitterbugs, but they also turn over columns of precious space to wholesome news about constructive youth movements. The problem of delinquency is being handled better than five years ago. We have more trade schools than prisons; boys' and girls' clubs keep them off the streets. Nearly 12 per cent of the 7,000,000 boys of the United States are enrolled in the Boy Scouts.

* * *

Boston Wants a City Manager

And now Boston, alone excluded from the law permitting city managers and proportionate representation, wants to share in that privilege. A score of speakers, representing labor unions, women, the civic league and the chamber of commerce, appeared at the hearing. Councillor Clement A. Norton made a telling point with our ruling race when he said that he had observed the effects of proportionate representation in Ireland last summer, and that President DeValera had convinced him that it had been of incalculable value to the Free State. Miss Margaret McSweeney won a round of applause when she said: "If this permissive legislation fails, I shall feel like diving into the harbor and bringing up the tea there dumped, and drinking the bitter brew!"

* * *

And So Forth

At the dedication of the Littauer Center of Public Administration in Harvard University, the donor of the $2,250,000 which founded the school, Lucius N. Littauer, said: "We must oppose absolutism in any guise from any source. May the new school produce social engineers as well as social architects, skilled in administrative strategy as well as political theory!"

E. Tallmadge Root.

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Southern Baptists Averse to Union

Convention Hails Protests Against Mergers—Demand Religious Liberty —Report Gains on All Fronts

(Special Correspondence)

Oklahoma City, May 20.—The Southern Baptist Convention, through its 4,5[illegible] messengers here, exceeded previous sessions in the forthrightness of its pronouncements against union with other denominations and in pleadings for religious liberty. Pastor David M. Gardner of St. Petersburg, Fla., initiated the emphatic utterances in his applauded response to Governor Phillips' welcome address, when he joyfully asserted that his people "refuse to join hands with creed-makers and church-breakers in their merger movements."

President L. R. Scarborough, reelected with great enthusiasm, chose as one of his five "Vital Essentials Worth Preserving and Perpetuating" loyalty to an independent Baptist denomination "in the face of a unionizing and compromising world." But he showed more consideration of others than did many of the speakers. He said: "We all rejoice in the fact that Christian people everywhere are drawing nearer and nearer together. We, as Baptists, because of our historic stand for distinctive doctrines, need to study ourselves and restudy our fundamentals, with the purpose and hope that so far as loyalty to truth will allow we will go as far as we can toward the right answering of Christ's prayer for oneness. We must grow our courtesies, but not at the expense of our convictions."

Fears Church Dictatorship

It remained for Secretary J. B. Lawrence of the Home Mission Board, Atlanta, Ga., to make the most unqualified declarations. "There is today," he said, "a vast enveloping movement which aims to tie Baptists up in a bundle with other bodies with which they have no ecclesiastical affinity." To heavy applause he offered a differentiation between Baptists on the one hand and "the Roman hierarchy and all its ecclesiastical children" on the other. He voiced fear of an ecclesiastical dictatorship under Protestant leadership in case of world-wide church union. His address will be widely distributed.

After encountering many vicissitudes from the time the committee on public relations, headed by Dr. Rufus W. Weaner of Washington, D. C., obtained approval of it, a pronouncement on religious liberty came up in amended form for consideration under a special order. The document cited the historic stand of Baptists for religious liberty in Rhode Island and their influence in procuring the First Amendment to the Constitution; protested the trend in this country toward paternalism in public support of charities; resented tax-raised funds for sectarian purposes; opposed the establishment of diplomatic relations by the government with any ecclesiastical body; enunciated the principles of separation of church and state; disavowed Baptist persecution of any other religionist; pleaded for absolute religious liberty for their

Jewish, Catholic and Protestant neighbors; and pledged full sympathy and support to Baptist brethren denied full religious liberty in other lands.

The convention text, "He that winneth souls is wise," furnished the organizing principle of the program. The plea for an evangelistic campaign turned into a demand for a continuing evangelistic crusade. The gains under the present soul-winning effort, officially headed by President L. R. Scarborough and Home Board Evangelist R. Q. Leavell, were most gratifying. These showed a net increase in churches of 386, bringing up the total to 24,932; a gain in membership of 174,582, making a present total of 4,770,185; a total gain of 256,814 baptisms, or 23,243 more than in any year of the convention's history. All the statistical items showed gains, the total in gifts, local and missionary, amounting to 9.3 per cent over the previous year.

Report Gains in Missions, Schools

Great as was the encouragement because of these increases much solicitude was expressed over the relatively poor showing of the constituency as a whole. Again and again speakers lamented the fact that 25 per cent never attend church, 50 per cent contribute nothing, only 10 per cent are tithers and 5 per cent do not participate in the soul-winning efforts. Yet the great enlisting agencies, despite this inertia, made optimistic reports. The largest of these, the Sunday School Board, Nashville, Dr. T. L. Holcomb, secretary, exhibited considerable expansion—large increases in Sunday schools; $2,091,056 in publishing receipts, an advance of $224,613 over the former year, with approximately a half million dollars put back into the states for promotional work.

The Foreign Mission Board, Richmond, Dr. Charles E. Maddry, secretary, indicated 419 missionaries now, larger receipts for the regular fund and the specials, though it suffered a loss of $600,000 in Chinese properties. The Home Board, Atlanta, announced 48 new missionaries added to 330 already at work, with increased support enabling further large debt reduction. The Education Commission, Dr. C. D. Johnson, Waco, chairman, reported a total enrollment of 33,795 in 67 Baptist schools, a notable gain, with an increase of more than $5,000,000 in endowment during the year. The Woman's Missionary Union held its most enthusiastic convention two days preceding and reported a gain of 17 per cent increase in membership, with over $2,500,000 contributed to missions during the year, and much success with the 43,444 mission study classes they conducted.

The executive committee expressed the hope that at the present rate of liquidation on all agencies, a debtless denomination may be assured by the centennial meeting of the convention in Augusta, Ga., in 1945, for which elaborate preparations are already in the making. The 1940 convention will be held in Baltimore, exactly a month later than heretofore—on Wednesday after the second Sunday in June.

Delegates Flock to Sermons

The convention proved its appreciation of the high-powered preaching at important intervals by overflowing the new Municipal Auditorium, which seats 6,500 at such times. The annual sermon, strongly approved, was by Dr. Perry F. Webb, of First Church, San Antonio. Other timely and effective sermons were delivered. Naturally, world conditions called for much discussion. Foreign Mission Secretary Maddry recounted his impressions of the Madras Conference, stressing its world character, conservatism and evangelicalism, but decrying the power of delegations from fascist and pagan countries, especially Japan, which prevented adequate deliverances on religious persecution. President George W. Truett, Dallas, Tex., and Secretary J. H. Rushbrooke, London, England, delivered addresses concerning the forthcoming meeting of the Baptist World Alliance in Atlanta next July. Dr. Everett Gill, superintendent of Baptist European missions, stirred the convention with his analysis of continental conditions, particularly with his story of the recent release of the Baptists from Rumanian prisons and the granting of freedom to the Baptist churches there.

Other matters of large interest included marked advance in the affairs of the historical society and of the historical commission; progress in provisions for Negro ministerial education and for other leaders; larger enrollments in theological seminaries at Louisville, Ft. Worth and New Orleans; improved pension provisions for ministers made by the Relief and Annuity Board, Dallas. Messages of fraternal greeting were brought by Pres. Arthur J. Hudson from the Northern Baptist Convention, by Dr. L. K. Williams for the National Negro Baptist Convention and by the editorial secretary of the American Bible Society, Francis C. Stifler.

JOSEPH MARTIN DAWSON.

Institute for Social Progress At Wellesley

Wellesley College will house a summer institute July 8-22 where people from all parts of the country will study various aspects of the question, "How Can We Make Democracy Work?" Round tables will be led by such persons as Leroy E. Bowman of the consumer cooperative movement, Benjamin Marsh of the People's Lobby, Joel Seidman of the League for Industrial Democracy, George B. Galloway of the National Economic and Social Planning Association. Evening forums will hear, among others, George S. Counts, Max Lerner and Rabbi Edward L. Israel.

Catholics Plan Theater Program

Channeling the diffuse but widespread amateur interest in the drama represented by the "little theater" movement, the Catholic Theater Conference announces two spring cycles of Catholic plays, one in New York and the other in Chicago, employing advanced college and community drama groups. Such plays as T. S. Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral,* Sherwood Anderson's *Mary of Scotland* and Emmet Lavery's *The First Legion* will be given.

Southern Baptists Plan Revival In Every Church

Stressing evangelism and with the objective of a revival in every Baptist church in the 18 states of the Southern Baptist Conference, 600 men and women recently held an assembly of Sunday school officers at Hot Springs. Delegates were told by J. N. Barnette, of Nashville, who presided at the meetings, that a five-year program had been adopted looking to educational and evangelistic rehabilitation.

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Dean of St. Paul's Calls for Action

Archbishop of York Seconds Dean's Views on War—Peace Groups Take Up Challenge of Conscription

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, May 17.—The Dean of St. Paul's has once more appealed to the leaders of the Christian church not to stand upon their dignity nor to fritter away time, but to act before the killing begins. In York Minster at a military service, the Archbishop of York reinforced the dean's views upon war. The calling of a soldier, he said, is not one which the Christian church should condemn; when we speak of "military service," the emphasis should be on "service." And he added that Christians should remember the fact that there are two orders, the realm of law and the realm of grace.

* * *

Conscription Makes War Issue Acute

The issue has been raised acutely through the introduction of conscription. It is true that the prime minister spoke with consideration of those who have conscientious scruples against all military service, but they will be called upon to defend their scruples before tribunals, and the others will take up the challenge. It is certain that the Peace Pledge Union will make its testimony heard. The Society of Friends with its customary promptitude has accepted the challenge which the new act brings, to their younger members first of all, and then to all who are called to stand by them. One of the war generation of 1914-18 writes in the *Friend:* "May they have the same assurance that we had in 1916-18 that their elders in the faith are supporting them in every way."

The council of Christian Baptist groups has said that "the compulsory training of men to slaughter their fellow men is to us intolerable." Labor opposes conscription on other grounds. But the bill has become law.

* * *

Clergy, Physicians and Mental Disease

The partnership of clergy and physicians in dealing with mental diseases has received careful study from the council of the British Medical Association. In its report the council declares that in the treatment of certain disorders the psychologically trained clergyman, who is familiar with the patient's religious background, is more effective than the medical psychologist. But this is followed by a statement that the council cannot accept the view that sole responsibility should rest with the clergyman for cases which, to use their language, have a "psychiatric symptomatology."

There are certain principles laid down which are designed to insure that only trained psychotherapists shall be trusted by the doctor. Where doctor and layman (who in this use of the word may be a clergyman) work together responsibility must rest with the doctor. Lay psychologists should undergo special training for two years. It is also urged that medical practitioners should have some knowledge of moral philosophy. The report encourages the hope that there will be in the future a much closer coordination between the clergy and the medical practitioner.

* * *

Middleton Murry Calls for Christian Education

The Religious Book Club has done a good service in publishing *The Price of Leadership,* by Mr. J. Middleton Murry. It is written with all the intensity and passionate earnestness of the author and comes directly out of his own mental and spiritual experience. It raises a large number of questions, all of importance, some of supreme importance. So far as Mr. Murry deals with the character of our national educational system, there is much that concerns English readers most of all, but his bold, uncompromising claim that education must become Christian is meant for all nations.

"If education is not Christian," he says in one outstanding passage, "we may be sure that our national life will never be Christian. Possibly, as individuals, we shall come to the realization of the necessity of the Christian faith, but we shall only find ourselves virtually outcast from society, unless its education has become Christian. The effort to restore Christianity to its rightful position as the basis of education is unavoidable if the concept of a Christian society has any reality." It would be easy to fill this letter with passages from his discussion of nationalism. There are vision and passion here, and for these we are grateful.

* * *

Sees Dickens' Popularity as Mark of English Soundness

Mr. Alfred Noyes, speaking at Portsmouth upon Charles Dickens, recalled how Rudyard Kipling had written to him that Dickens had always been one of the gods of his idolatry and that the novelist seemed to grow more and more modern as time went on. Mr. Noyes showed how true this is, and how it is a sign of the fundamental soundness of the English people that in all the changing fashions millions of volumes of Dickens are still read every year. Here is a writer who understands their own infinite variety and the infinite value of individual souls.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Albin C. Bro Heads Junior College

For several years a staff member of the University of Chicago Press, Dr. Albin C. Bro, has been elected president of Frances Shimer Junior College, Mt. Carroll, Ill. Dr. Bro was formerly principal of a Disciples' school in China and was for a time professor of education at Northland College, Ashland, Wis. Shimer Junior College has been affiliated with the University of Chicago since 1896.

Interfaith Cooperation Increasing

Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, states in his semiannual report that the work and aims of the conference are being more widely promoted in this country than ever before. "More Catholics, Protestants and Jews," reports Dr. Clinchy, "are taking action against prejudice and in favor of

understanding and cooperation among the three faiths than ever before; and many secular organizations are making this purpose an integral part of their programs."

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Almost a Gentleman

(James Ellison, the dog "Ace") (RKO) Unpretentious story notable for remarkable performance of police dog. Embittered, revengeful hero trains him for dog show to beat hated ex-brother-in-law's entry. Sentimental dog murder trial and a kidnaping are other ingredients.

For A: Fair. For Y: Fairly good. For C: No.

Calling Dr. Kildare

(Ayres, Barrymore) (MGM) Second of promising series on medical profession, with same cast in tensely human character play. But now young Kildare must innocently treat gunshot wound, tangle with law, and fall in love with a gangster's moll! Series cheapened for supposed "punch."

For A and Y: Mostly good. For C: No.

First Offenders

(Walter Abel, Johnny Downs) (Colum) Fine youth, convicted of murder, turns "tough guy" in prison and on release (unexplained pardon) seeks revenge on assistant D. A. But latter's farm for young ex-convicts works cure. Well acted film with earnest message and character values.

For A: Thought-provoking. For Y: Mature. For C: No.

Lady's from Kentucky

(Raft, Drew, Herbert, Pitts) (Para) Rural settings and fine horses sole interest in trite, artificial, feebly acted story of unconvincing character-transformation of tough, unprincipled gambler-hero. Much footage on bookies and betting. Hugh Herbert minus "woo-woo" a welcome change.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Very doubtful. For C: No.

Never Say Die

(Bob Hope, Martha Raye) (Para) Utter nonsense farce about hypochondriac at Alpine hotel, expecting early death from wrong diagnosis, crazily involved in romance and marriage. Would-be clever wisecracks, crude slapstick and low-taste buffoonery make hilarious fun for the low I Q's.

For A: Futile. For Y: No value. For C: No.

Outside the Walls

(Michael Whalen, Virginia Weidler) (Colum) Honest, released convict, frankly admitting jail term, seeks work but meets endless trouble. Even his little daughter scorns him, but he finally wins her back and she saves him from being framed for return to jail.

For A: Passable. For Y: Fair. For C: Hardly.

Streets of New York

(Jackie Cooper, Martin Spellman) (Monogram) Wholesome, telling story of social and fistic struggles of clean, true boy to overcome slum antecedents and win law education. Worthy little picture despite oversentimental bits, some obvious sermonizing, and rather ineffective ending.

For A: Fair. For Y and C: Mostly good.

Zero Hour

(Otto Kruger, Frieda Inescourt) (Repub) Grim little story, with some fine character acting, about producer suddenly crippled for life when about to marry girl he has trained to stage stardom. His refusal to marry and final suicide release loyal heroine for stage success and another love.

For A: Good of kind. For Y: Mature. For C: No.

Best Recent Family Films:

Three Smart Girls Grow Up
The Hardys Ride High
East Side of Heaven
The Little Princess
Spirit of Culver
Story of Alexander Graham Bell

Best Recent Films for Adults:

Ballerina
Hound of the Baskervilles
Dark Victory
Crisis
Wuthering Heights
Union Pacific

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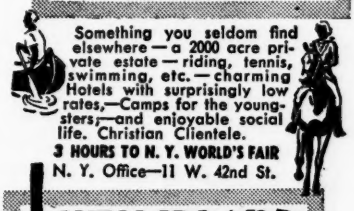

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